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INTERNATIONAL

The Guardian

NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

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How Disney destroyed Florida

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Arnold Kemp in Paris

New French resistance fights World Cup fever

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Return of the nuclear age

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29 children die and four brain-damaged in 53 operations □ Colleagues warned of dangers

Doctors ignored baby death toll

Parents denounce inquiry and claim compensation

Sarah Besseley
Health Correspondent

B RITAIN'S highest ever medical disciplinary inquiry ended dramatically last night when three doctors were found to have risked babies' lives by continuing with heart operations even though their death rates were well above average.

The case has enormous consequences for the self-regulation of doctors and the autonomy of hospital trusts. James Wisheart, aged 40, was not only the senior children's heart surgeon but also medical director of the United Bristol Healthcare Trust and James Roylance, 67, was its chief executive. Janardan Dhasmana, 54, was the junior surgeon.

None of them listened to colleagues who urged that the operations should stop — warnings that continued for five years.

The General Medical Council looked at 53 operations on babies, 29 of whom died and four of whom were brain-damaged. By the time of his last hole in the heart operation on a baby, Mr Wisheart's mortality rate had reached 60 per cent, compared with a national average at the time of 14 per cent. In the arterial switch procedure, to correct a back to front heart, Mr Dhasmana had a two in three death rate, compared to the national average of one in 10.

After a record seven months of hearings, the GMC's professional standards committee concluded yesterday that the operations on six babies, five of whom died, should not have taken place.

But the parents of children who died or were brain-damaged during heart operations at the Bristol Royal Infirmary yesterday denounced the GMC investigation.

They claimed the committee had examined "only the tip of the iceberg". Malcolm Currow, one of the members of the Bristol Children's Heart Group, said he knew of 51 children who were dead or damaged. Only a public inquiry could uncover "the full horror story of injustice and betrayal imposed on parents and families".

Acknowledging that justice needs to be seen to be done, Frank Dobson, the Health Secretary, has been discussing with the parents for weeks the scope of the independent inquiry he has promised, even though the GMC will not decide what action to take against the doctors — it could strike them off, admonish or clear them — until mid-June.

It is unlikely to begin until next year, because the doctors will probably appeal against the GMC verdict to the Privy Council.

The parents believe the GMC should not have been allowed to police its own members. The committee did not look at brain-damaged children and its traditional remit did not allow it to investigate the competence of the surgeons, even though Mr Wisheart was said to be too slow and Mr Dhasmana was alleged never to have "got beyond the learning curve" in operations on tiny babies.

A distraught Jim Stewart, father of Ian, who was the only brain-damaged child to be considered in the original charges but whose case was later struck out, interrupted Sir Donald Irvine, president of the GMC, as he gave his ruling, denouncing "this sham of a hearing".

The parents allege that the surgeons' high rates of death and brain-damage were known to the medical profession and yet nothing was done for several years. This context was not explored at the GMC.

Two cardiologists and an



James Wisheart and wife Janet confronted by James Stewart, father of Ian, who suffered brain damage during an operation, outside the GMC yesterday. PHOTOGRAPH MICHAEL CHAFFET

What happens next

□ The GMC will decide what action to take against the doctors in mid-June. It could strike them off the register, admonish or clear them.

□ If disciplined, the doctors are likely to appeal to the Privy Council. This could take 18 months to set up.

□ Frank Dobson, the Health Secretary, has promised an independent inquiry, but is negotiating its remit, chairman and whether it should be public with the parents. Not likely before next year.

□ Civil claims are being filed. Tonzers in Exeter are

pursuing 35 cases — 25 in which children died.

□ The GMC has begun performance assessment of doctors thought sub-standard. With the British Medical Association and Royal Colleges it has urged doctors to audit their work.

ation and the Royal Colleges, reading the writing on the wall, have in the last few weeks issued guidance to doctors, urging them to audit themselves. They and the GMC have told doctors that whistle-blowing on inadequate colleagues is not dishonourable but a duty.

The GMC, which has spent £2.2 million on its inquiry, found yesterday that Mr Wisheart had ignored four separate warnings from colleagues and proceeded with hole in the heart operations on March 26, 1994 on nine-month-old Matthew Rundle and then on November 23, 1993 on Hanna Sikos, also alive months old.

It found that Mr Dhasmana was made aware in November

1994 of his colleagues' concerns about his failure rate in the arterial switch procedure in babies under 28 days old. By that time, eight out of 11 babies had died. But he carried on. His next patient lived, but on October 12, 1993, Niall McKelvey, 15 days old, died.

An operation by Mr Dhasmana on 18-month-old Joshua Loveday on January 12, 1994, brought things to crisis point. Mr Dhasmana should not have gone ahead.

Mr Wisheart was given at

least five warnings, but he gave his approval even though, said the GMC committee, "you ought to have known that the operation was not in Joshua Loveday's best interests". Joshua died.

Mr Roylance had been told by a number of professionals, including an official of the Department of Health, that the death rates were too high.

He failed to act or take advice other than from Mr Wisheart "and other clinicians whose acts of omission were in question".

'More tests' for Pakistan

New warnings in continued confrontation

Suzanne Goldenberg in Islamabad, M. K. Narayan in New Delhi and Ian Black in London

INDIA and Pakistan, the world's two newest nuclear nations, kept up their confrontation yesterday amid Western fears that Islamabad planned to carry out more tests and arm its missiles with nuclear warheads.

While Pakistan's foreign minister, Gohar Ayub Khan, swore no surrender to New Delhi's efforts at regional domination, a senior official said Islamabad's nuclear programme was strictly for defence.

Mr Ayub has refused to offer a moratorium on testing.

In New Delhi, meanwhile, the Indian prime minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, repeated an offer of "no first strike" assurances but warned Pakistan not to think it could conquer the disputed territory of Kashmir.

But United States officials cast doubt on the nature and



Greenpeace activists at Pakistan's Greek embassy yesterday

success of the five nuclear explosions claimed by Pakistan on Thursday.

Washington said it had detected a single, relatively weak seismic signal and believed that at least two of the bombs lowered beneath the earth in the Chagai hills of Baluchistan were not detonated.

US intelligence also reported preparations for additional tests. "We believe that dangers remain," said Mike McCurry, the White House spokesman.

US spy satellites surveying a second test site have seen

signs of the same kind of activity spotted 48 hours before Thursday's tests, said one US official.

Mr McCurry said the US message to India and Pakistan "tells both countries that further testing and further efforts to weaponsise military capabilities would worsen rather than improve the situation".

Officials in Islamabad have yet to release details of the tests, but a former director of the Atomic Energy Commission said it was doubtful whether India or Pakistan had tested a hydrogen bomb.

despite claims to the contrary by New Delhi.

"It is rather difficult and dangerous to make a hydrogen bomb for India and Pakistan," said Dr Munir Ahmed Khan.

American officials are hopeful that the political dynamic of the situation will change once the euphoria produced by their respective tests passes and economic sanctions begin to bite.

Britain was yesterday leading efforts by the G8 industrial countries to convene an emergency meeting of foreign ministers, possibly in London, to discuss the crisis. India and Pakistan will be invited but diplomats admitted there was no guarantee they would attend.

"Hopes for maximising international pressure have already been weakened by the variation in response. The US has imposed tough economic sanctions but Europe prefers to try to persuade India and Pakistan to talk and to sign up to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty."

Mr Vajpayee disregarded widespread opposition calls to turn to page 2, col 6

Low technology key to jail security

Alan Travis
Home Affairs Editor

THE hi-tech private prison billed as the first to abandon old-style locks and keys has been found to be a failure. Staff at Securicor's Parc prison, near Bridgend, south Wales, have found that the computer-controlled remote locking system is so slow it has made moving around the prison almost impossible.

A recent visitor to the prison reported: "As we came out of the segregation unit the officer pressed the button and nothing happened for ages and then the wrong door opened."

Inmates will once again hear the familiar sound of keys turning followed by the crashing of doors as staff override the computer system.

Securicor has also had to abandon a hi-tech "pod" system under which a single custody officer stood at a control desk on each wing. The theory was that one officer could remotely unlock every cell door on

the wing while keeping an eye on all 78 inmates.

But inmates failed to respect a yellow "no parking" line around the console and crowded the single custody officer, making it impossible for him to keep an eye on the wings.

A Securicor spokesman said: "There have been problems with the technology that we are rectifying. All new prisons, whether they are private or not, experience difficulties during their first six to 12 months."

There is concern at the highest levels about the operation of the prison, Securicor's only one, which opened last November. Joyce Quin, the prison minister, has visited and asked for a full report. Richard Tilt, director general of the Prison Service, acknowledged yesterday that things were "not right".

Two inmates have committed suicide and riot squads have been brought in from Swansea Prison.

Securicor has been fined more than once for failing to meet its contract, and Mr Tilt indicated that further fines were likely.

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Other leading life	£180.00	£270.00	£360.00	£450.00	£540.00

Source: The Life and Pensions Manual - April 1997

Home	World News	Business News	Letters, leader
British Pay-per-view soccer setback 3	Pakistan warned its citizens they would pay for nuclear tests 6	Second crisis breaks in Hong Kong 11	comment 8
Weather 2	Option 5	TV and Radio 2	Crossword 12

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Woodward selling her story

Nick Hopkins
on how the once solid defence team behind the British au pair in Boston has cracked

Nick Hopkins

LOUISE Woodward's defence team was in turmoil yesterday over claims that the au pair has negotiated lucrative deals to sell her story.

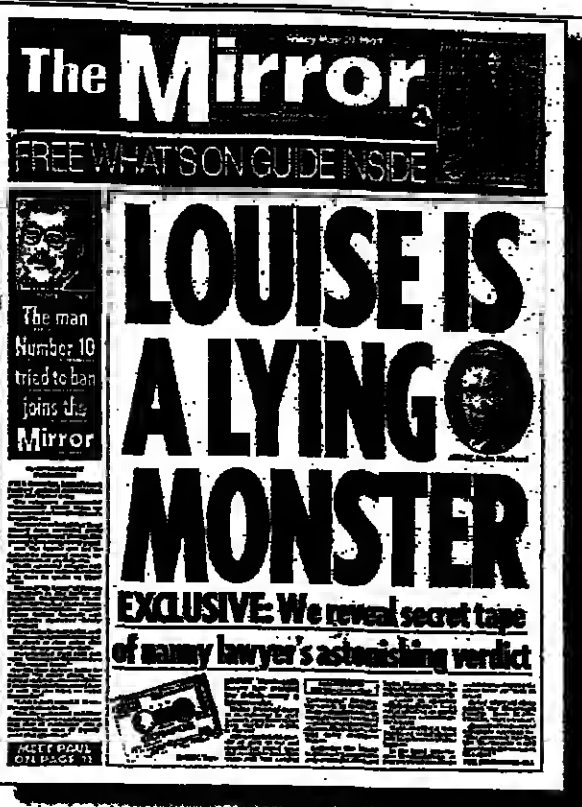
Woodward, aged 20, who was convicted of killing eight-month-old Matthew Eappen last October, has always maintained that her only concern is to clear her name and return to Britain.

But Elaine Whitfield-Sharp, one of her lawyers, believes Woodward has held protracted discussions with publishers. She learnt that talks were being arranged behind her back, without the knowledge of Andrew Good, Harvey Silvergate, and Barry Schick, the other attorneys in the case.

Ms Whitfield-Sharp believes that the Woodward has already received £40,000 from one newspaper, and she complained to the family that the deals constituted a huge breach of trust.

In a taped conversation with a friend published in yesterday's *Mirror* newspaper, Ms Whitfield-Sharp referred to Woodward as a "lying monster", and said she had doubts about the appeal fund which raised almost £250,000 to help pay her legal fees.

Throughout last year's trial, Ms Whitfield-Sharp insisted that Woodward would



Louise Woodward: moved out of her attorney's house after the breakdown of their relationship

not make money out of the case, arguing that public support for her would evaporate if she tried to cash in.

Woodward herself was adamant. On the day she was freed last November, she said: "I have no intention of exploiting this tragedy. It is not a subject for sensationalism or profiteering."

Woodward had been living at Ms Whitfield-Sharp's house in Marlborough, Massachusetts, but moved out recently after the breakdown of their relationship.

The rift has come at a delicate time for the au pair, who is awaiting the outcome of prosecution and defence appeals that could see her sent back to jail for a minimum of 15 years before parole, or

cleared of involuntary manslaughter and allowed to return home.

The suspicion that Woodward is touting her story raises uncomfortable questions for the media. The Press Complaints Commission expressly forbids payments to convicted criminals unless there is a public interest defence.

Last week, substantial sums were paid by two tabloid newspapers to nurses Lucille McLaughlin and Deborah Parry, who were convicted in Saudi Arabia of killing Youssef Gifford but released early after the intervention of King Fahd.

Neither Woodward nor Ms Whitfield-Sharp was prepared to talk about the row

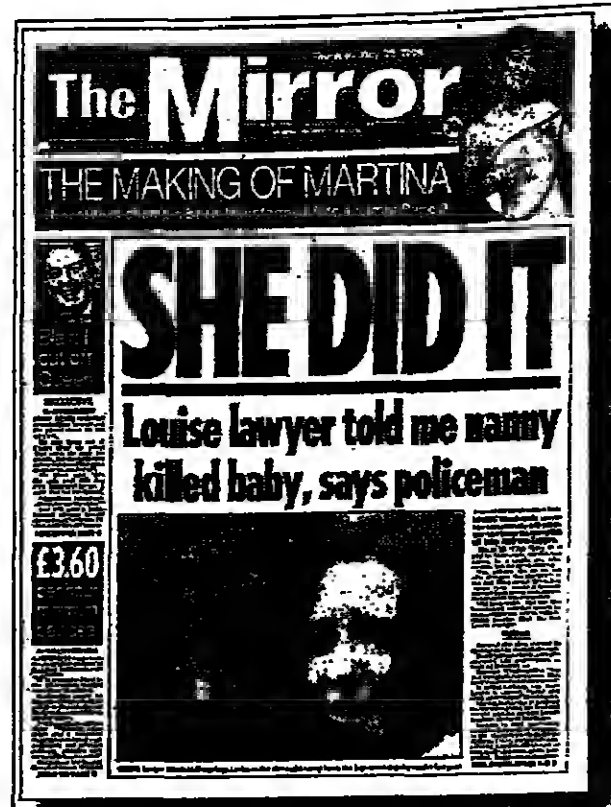
"I have no intention of exploiting this tragedy. It is not a subject for sensationalism or profiteering" Louise Woodward on day she was freed

yesterday, or the allegations that the au pair was attempting to sell her story. Woodward's mother also refused to comment.

But Tim Hunt, a British expatriate in Marlborough who is a close friend of the Woodward, admitted there were divisions in the defence camp.

"Louise is no longer living with Elaine. She moved out quite some time ago. It would be fair to say they are not as friendly as they were before. They no longer see eye to eye," he said.

Ms Whitfield-Sharp's concerns about Woodward's alleged duplicity have surfaced twice in the past few days. According to the *Mirror*, the lawyer said she had been flabbergasted to learn that Wood-



Elaine Whitfield-Sharp: learnt that talks with publishers were being arranged without her knowledge

ward was negotiating behind her back, and had allegedly received money from the *Daily Mail*.

"The agreement was that the Woodward would never make any money on this at all," she said. "I don't want to be a part of this."

According to the *Mirror*, Ms Whitfield-Sharp said Woodward and her mother engineered a meeting with publishers by saying they were going to dinner with Mr Silvergate.

"While they were out supposedly with him, he telephoned me and said he was having dinner with Louise and Sue and he said no. Some hours later Sue and Louise came back. I asked if they had enjoyed their dinner with

Harvey and they said yes."

Ms Whitfield-Sharp was horrified that the Woodward appeared to be negotiating deals before the appeal court's verdict. "Doesn't that show a certain arrogance?" she said.

On the tapes, Ms Whitfield-Sharp also questioned whether the appeal fund was fully accountable, and claimed she had not been paid for six months.

But the Rev Ken Davey, chairman of the trust fund, angrily denied the suggestion. "Any allegations that there is non-accountability would be downright lies," he said.

Paul Barrow, solicitor for the fund, said Ms Whitfield-Sharp had been paid. "I can show you the invoice she sub-

"The agreement was that the Woodward would never make any money on this at all. I don't want to be a part of this"

Elaine Whitfield-Sharp, quoted yesterday

mitted and the date it was paid, which was about two weeks ago."

Earlier in the week, the Boston *Globe* newspaper reported that Ms Whitfield-Sharp now doubted Woodward's innocence. The claim was based on her alleged comment that she was arrested for drink-driving.

To Ms Whitfield-Sharp's acute embarrassment, the officer's report said the lawyer blamed her arrest on the stress of representing the British and the fact that "I know she is guilty and I can't handle it."

Ms Whitfield-Sharp has furiously denied the remarks and accused the officer of harassing her.

Britain urges end to arms ban

Richard Norton-Taylor

BITAIN is pressing the United Nations to lift the Sierra Leone weapons embargo which lies at the heart of the arms-to-Africa affair.

The new twist in the controversy surrounding the supply of arms to the west African country by British security company Sandline was announced yesterday by the Foreign Office.

It said it was urging the UN Security Council to agree to a new resolution allowing weapons sales to President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah's government. It would also lift a ban on arms sales to the Nigerian-led west African Economic forces that restore order, even though Nigeria itself is covered by a separate European Union and Commonwealth arms embargo.

The Foreign Office insisted yesterday that the UN recognised that the Economic forces were doing an important job and that a UN embargo would remain on sales to rebels still fighting in Sierra Leone.

UN lawyers last week added to Foreign Office embarrassment over the affair by implying that the resolution, passed last year, was directed solely against the military forces then in power in Sierra Leone.

However, the Foreign Office has insisted the embargo applied to all participants in the Sierra Leone conflict, including President Kabbah's supporters and Ecomog forces.

The weather in Europe



Forecast for the cities

Today	tomorrow	tomorrow
Amsterdam 20/12 F	Amsterdam 21/12 F	Amsterdam 22/12 F
Berlin 21/12 F	Berlin 22/12 F	Berlin 23/12 F
Bombay 21/12 F	Bombay 22/12 F	Bombay 23/12 F
Buenos Aires 21/12 F	Buenos Aires 22/12 F	Buenos Aires 23/12 F
Cairo 21/12 F	Cairo 22/12 F	Cairo 23/12 F
London 21/12 F	London 22/12 F	London 23/12 F
Madrid 21/12 F	Madrid 22/12 F	Madrid 23/12 F
Moscow 21/12 F	Moscow 22/12 F	Moscow 23/12 F
Paris 21/12 F	Paris 22/12 F	Paris 23/12 F
Rome 21/12 F	Rome 22/12 F	Rome 23/12 F
Stockholm 21/12 F	Stockholm 22/12 F	Stockholm 23/12 F
Toronto 21/12 F	Toronto 22/12 F	Toronto 23/12 F
Warsaw 21/12 F	Warsaw 22/12 F	Warsaw 23/12 F
Yokohama 21/12 F	Yokohama 22/12 F	Yokohama 23/12 F

Around the world

London yesterday (previous day in America)	London today	London tomorrow
Amsterdam 20/12 F	Amsterdam 21/12 F	Amsterdam 22/12 F
Berlin 21/12 F	Berlin 22/12 F	Berlin 23/12 F
Bombay 21/12 F	Bombay 22/12 F	Bombay 23/12 F
Buenos Aires 21/12 F	Buenos Aires 22/12 F	Buenos Aires 23/12 F
Cairo 21/12 F	Cairo 22/12 F	Cairo 23/12 F
London 21/12 F	London 22/12 F	London 23/12 F
Madrid 21/12 F	Madrid 22/12 F	Madrid 23/12 F
Moscow 21/12 F	Moscow 22/12 F	Moscow 23/12 F
Paris 21/12 F	Paris 22/12 F	Paris 23/12 F
Rome 21/12 F	Rome 22/12 F	Rome 23/12 F
Stockholm 21/12 F	Stockholm 22/12 F	Stockholm 23/12 F
Toronto 21/12 F	Toronto 22/12 F	Toronto 23/12 F
Warsaw 21/12 F	Warsaw 22/12 F	Warsaw 23/12 F
Yokohama 21/12 F	Yokohama 22/12 F	Yokohama 23/12 F

European weather outlook

Scandinavia: Northern and western coasts of Norway will be cloudy with light rain in places. Remaining parts of Scandinavia will be dry with sunny spells, the best of the sunshine in Sweden. Max temps will vary from 22C (72F) at best in southern parts to 10C (50F) along northern coasts of Norway.

Low Countries, Germany, Austria, Switzerland: Overnight mist and fog will slowly clear in places, otherwise it will be dry with plenty of sunshine in all parts. Max temps generally in the 17-21C (63-70F) range.

France: Early fog will linger in places before clearing then all parts will have long sunny spells. There is however a risk of showers, possibly thundery, breaking out in central and southern France. Max temps will be generally in the 21-25C (70-77F) range.

Spain and Portugal: A mixture of sunny spells and scattered showers. The showers possibly heavy and prolonged in southern parts. Max temps will be in the 20-25C (68-77F) range.

Italy: It will be cloudy with rain, the rain heavy with thundery downpours in many parts. Max temps will be in the 20-23C (68-73F) range but will locally be lower in the northeast of the rain.

Television and radio — Saturday

<p>0.00 The Muppet Show, 0.00 News, 0.30 Saturday Afternoon, 0.00 Five Ways, 0.00 The Simpsons,</p>
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A book too far for Alexander Solzhenitsyn



One man finds himself an island

James Meek on the post-Soviet decline of the one-time scourge of the Kremlin

A NEW book by the Nobel prize-winning author Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the internationally revered symbol of intellectual resistance to Soviet tyranny, is to have a print run in his native Russia of just 5,000 due to lack of demand.

The book, *Russia in Collapse*, a collection of essays lashing out at every perceived evil afflicting post-Soviet society from Ukrainian nationalism to incompetent land reform, goes on sale at a single Moscow outlet next week.

Retailing at £1 for the paperback edition, £1.40 for the hardback — a third of the price for the best-selling memoirs of Boris Yeltsin's bodyguard Alexander Korzhakov — the tiny print run for a potential readership of more than 400 million Russian-speakers worldwide shows just how interest in the writer has fallen since he broke Stalin's spell of fear 36 years ago.

"Tell me what kind of print runs we have in this country these days," said a defensive Munira Urazova, secretary of the Alexander Solzhenitsyn Fund. "Usually it's one, two or three thousand. I don't think anyone's printed 100,000 copies of a Russian book for a long time."

In 1962, on the eve of the publication of *A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, the work that made Solzhenitsyn's reputation, half Moscow was egot with anticipation and the other half had already read it in hand-copied samizdat versions.

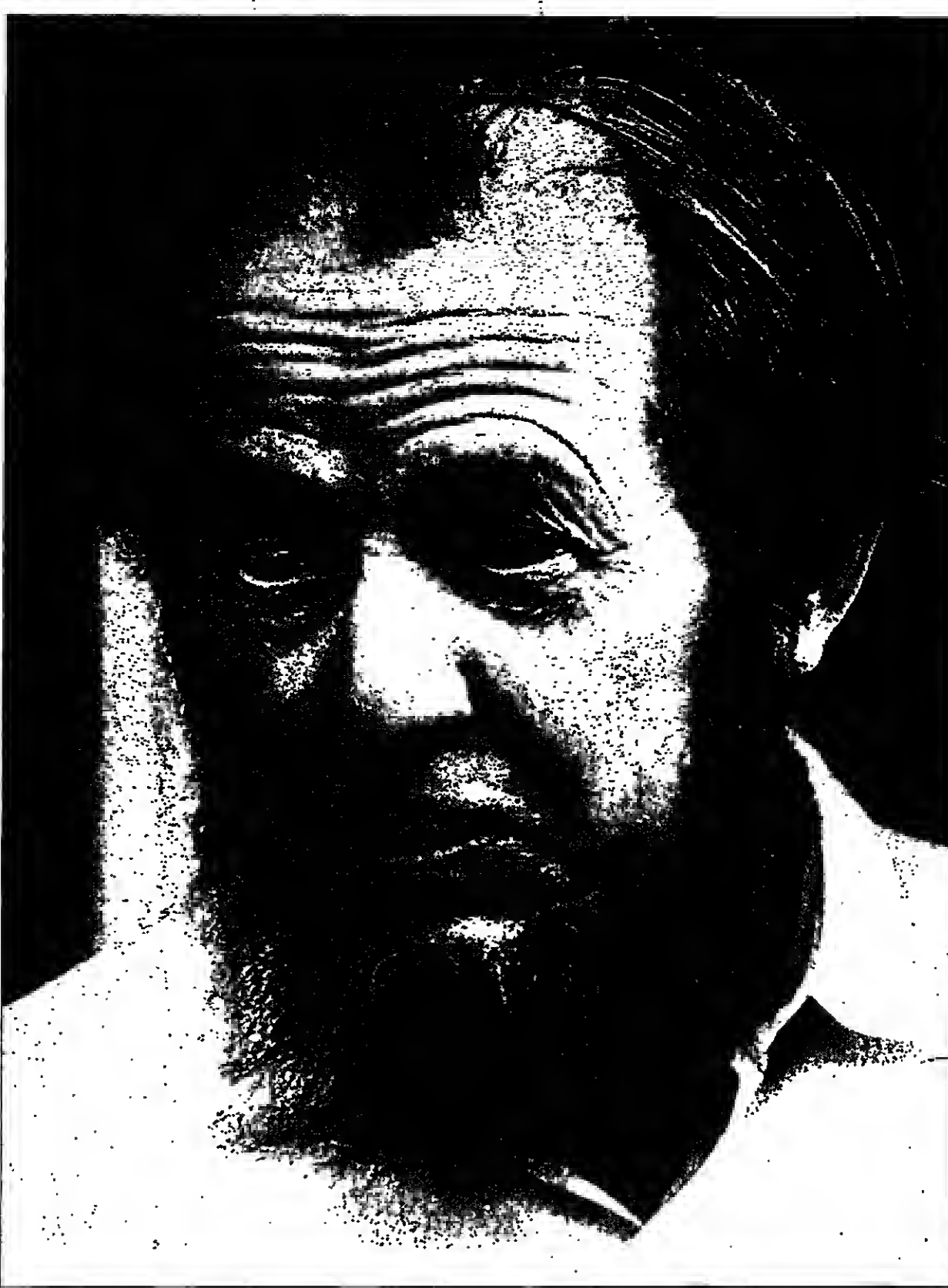
After the novel's appearance in the magazine *Novy Mir*, two subsequent Soviet editions totalling 850,000 sold out immediately. Solzhenitsyn's biographer Michael Scammell believes that if the Soviet Union's planning system had allowed it 8.5 million people would have bought it.

The writer's denunciation of the forced labour system, *The Gulag Archipelago*, sold in similar quantities in the Soviet Union and abroad. Since his forced exile to the west in 1974, Solzhenitsyn has continued to study and write feverishly, but the reading public's enthusiasm for his works has vanished as utterly as the enemy he once fought.

Russia in Collapse is only Solzhenitsyn's second book since he returned to Russia in 1994. The other work, *The Russian Question at the End of the 20th Century*, was not widely read. His only ventures in fiction, published in magazines, have been criticised as being naive and simplistic about the new Russia.

The 79-year-old writer is not a recluse — he travels around provincial Russia, speaking to small audiences, occasionally writes letters to the newspapers, and sponsors a literary prize — but he rarely gives interviews and has retreated from the national stage as the audience has turned its back on him.

He was deeply hurt when the country's biggest TV channel, ORT, pulled the plug on his short-lived prime time broadcast, in which he materialised at suppers in his tweedy safari suit to ba-



Solzhenitsyn's face still appears occasionally on Russian TV, but his prime time show has been ditched and his latest book, *Russia in Collapse*, has a print run of just 5,000, unlike previous successes (above left)

range viewers on the ills of communism, capitalism and materialism. TV executives said the viewers had found him boring.

The director of the firm publishing the book, Victor Moskvina, said 5,000 was only the start. "Times have changed in the country. Not so many people can afford to buy books. But we will print a new edition quickly. I'm talking about a matter of weeks."

To promote *Russia in Collapse*, extracts have been published in four newspapers, including the weekly *Argumenty i Fakty*, the most popular in the former Soviet Union.

The extracts reveal a man consumed by rage, bitterness and sorrow at the state his country has been reduced to since the collapse of the Soviet Union, with a focus on

complaint and lament rather than renewal, reminiscent of the speeches of communist leader Gennady Zyuganov.

The text is bizarrely at odds with the cheery, ebullient, enthusiastic figure who still occasionally flashes across Russian television screens.

Mr Moskvina said that since extracts had appeared his firm had been bombarded with calls from prospective buyers as far away as Siberia, Kazakhstan and Ukraine.

"He's a great 20th century writer. The new book is a deep view of the state of Russia today."

Ms Urazova said: "Any publication of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's has always received a response from the people, from ordinary simple folk in the first instance. And that's what's happening now."

Top soccer clubs reject pay-to-view proposals

Stuart Miller

THE relentless march of the Sky football revolution suffered a surprise setback yesterday when FA Premier League clubs rejected pay-per-view proposals that would have forced fans to pay up to £10 to watch selected games on television.

The decision by the top 20 top-flight English clubs founded expectations that pay-per-view would be in place for the start of next season — fulfilling Sky's ambition to use the Premiership as part of the launch of its digital television service.

But both supporters' groups and football analysts predicted last night that the setback was little more than symbolic. The clubs will be faced with the same decision next year and discussions between the two sides will continue in the meantime, so some form of pay-per-view for Premiership matches is seen as inevitable.

The chairmen, gathered in Leicester for their annual summer meeting, took just two hours to decide unanimously to reject Sky's proposals after a presentation by Peter Leaver, the Premier League's chief executive.

Despite confident predictions from Martin Edwards, chairman of Manchester United, before the meeting that the majority of clubs supported the offer, the issue did not need to be put to a vote.

Mr Leaver said: "The Premier League is determined to ensure that there is an opportunity to consider all of the issues in detail and to act in the best interests of the game and its supporters. We want to develop broadcasting arrangements which strike the right balance and secure the right future for English football."

Maurice Watkins, a Manchester United director who attended the meeting, said:

"We heard the recommendations today and decided not to proceed on the basis of what was put to us. There were a number of things we were unhappy with."

Some suspect that the clubs are holding out until they are in a position to launch a digital channel of their own. Mr Leaver is believed to favour this option.

But Vic Wakeling, Sky's head of sport, said: "The proposals were never going to be agreed today — there are still too many details to be discussed and Sky shares the Premier League's wish to get it right for all football fans."

Under the proposals, put before the clubs in February, pay-per-view would have been introduced on an experimental basis in September, putting another 144 games on television, in addition to the 60 that would remain on Sky's subscription sports channels.

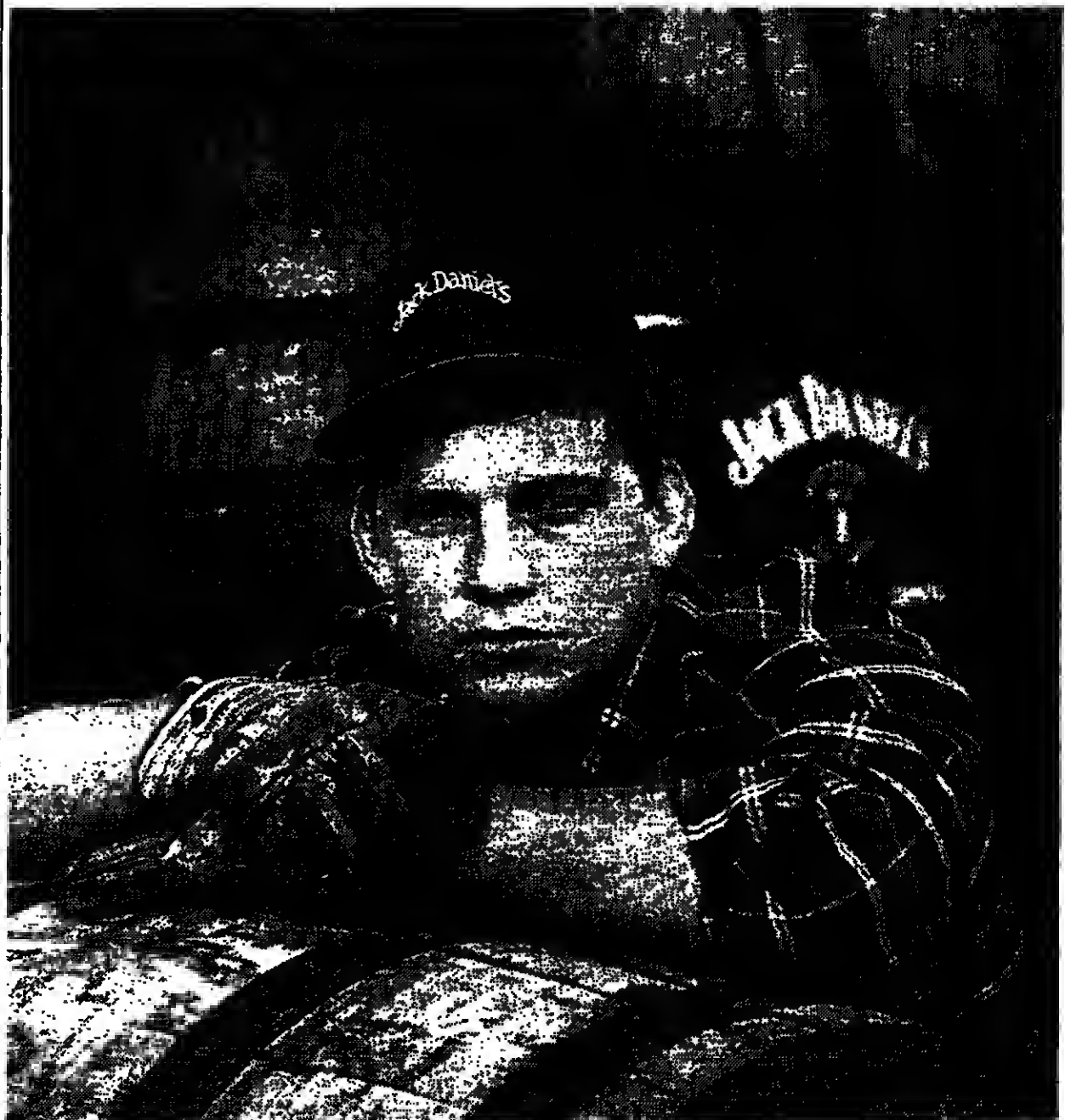
Revenues, conservatively estimated at £20 million in the first year, would have been divided evenly between the clubs and Sky, which would be responsible for operational costs.

"If Sky doesn't get these revenues in the long term then it will still have a business but it will not be as good a business," said Matthew Horsman, a media analyst.

Fans feared the Sky proposals would lead to the demise of traditional Saturday afternoon football — initially five fixtures a week would have moved to Sundays — as well as having a serious impact on the lower divisions.

The potential cost provoked most opposition. Sky currently charges more than £20 for subscription to its sports channels. With pay-per-view, they would have been required to pay £25-£30 per match on top of the £200 cost of a digital decoder box.

David Mellor, chairman of the Football Task Force, said: "The proposals seemed like a destruction of all the traditions of football in England."



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The Guardian

One life in the days of Soviet tyranny and Western exile

Jonathan Steele

LIKE a mighty Siberian river, Alexander Solzhenitsyn's progress as a writer has been slow-moving but unstoppable: close to the heart of Russia, uncontaminated by Western leanings, and reaching its climax in a chilling wilderness remote from modern aspirations.

His convictions have veered, but what he held dear he defended with passion. "I would gladly give my life for Lenin," he wrote from the front during the second world war.

As an author Solzhenitsyn was a late developer, publishing his first novel, *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, in 1962 at the age of

44. It won notoriety as the first denunciation of Stalin's camps to be cleared in the Soviet Union. It was based on what he saw after his arrest in 1945 for disparaging Stalin in letters to friends.

His next prison work, *First Circle* (1968), about the fate of incarcerated intellectuals, was banned and he was never published again in the Soviet Union. By then he had turned to Orthodox Christianity.

Expelled to the West, his revenge was the *Gulag Archipelago*, an exposure of the Soviet prison system.

He returned in 1994, determined to denounce Russia's drift to Western materialism. Now comes his latest, perhaps final book, a bitter jeremiad from the archbishop of despair.

education

Every Tuesday in the

The Guardian

4 BRITAIN

Virgin stamps mark on rail staff

Keith Harper
Transport Editor

RICHARD Branson has decided that tattoos are inappropriate for staff on his Virgin trains. Trains can run late or be cancelled at a moment's notice, but for Mr Branson's 3,500 staff on the West Coast main line from London to Glasgow, appearance is all important. He has ordered them to cover up their tattoos while working.

The instruction, in a detailed brochure to coincide with introduction of new uniforms, suggests staff should remove any visible body piercing before going on duty. Women's earrings are allowed.

Virgin Trains has not endeared itself to the public with one of the worst records on the railway, but Mr Branson is intent that, whatever his company's performance, his staff must look smart. For summer, he has introduced red and black uniforms with blouse and blazer. For winter, there will be slip-up jackets, caps and woollen hats.

Staff have been given strict instructions: it is all right to turn up for work in jumpers and cardigans, but never under a jacket.

Mr Branson does not like badgers apart from Virgin Rail's name badge. For women he proposes that make-up should stick to neutral colours and subtle shades. Only black shoes must be worn. Nails must be trimmed and hands washed frequently.

Virgin does not expect problems with the £2 million facelift. A spokesman said that staff had helped to design the uniform and were "generally very happy" with the styles. "They will understand the instructions they have been given," he added.

Mr Branson was in Rome yesterday to take a ride on the Italian tilting train, which he hopes to introduce on the West Coast line within four years. He admitted the Virgin image had been dented by poor punctuality, but said passengers would remember Virgin "for what we achieve on this route when the improvements come in".



Out: tattoos and body piercing



In: sensible shoes, black only — and tidy hair PHOTOGRAPHS: DOB MILLER, JEFF MORGAN, MARTIN GOODWIN

Child becomes youngest person to be put on sex offenders' register

Boy, 12, found guilty of raping five-year-old girl

Martin Wainwright

A 12-YEAR-old boy became the youngest person to go on Britain's new register of sex offenders yesterday after a jury found him guilty of raping a five-year-old girl.

The boy, who will be sentenced later, sobbed in the dock at Leeds crown court as he was convicted unanimously. He is one of the youngest defendants to be convicted of rape, joining a 12-year-old member of a London gang who received five years youth custody last year for his part in an attack on an Australian woman.

Judge Arthur Myerson QC said he found the register order "very difficult" but the 1997 Sexual Offenders law appeared to be absolute and gave him no option.

The boy, who was bailed for reports before sentencing, is required to give his name and address to police in Leeds within the next few days to add to the register.

He will be sentenced along with the girl's uncle, now 13, who will also go on the register after admitting indecent assault during a Sunday afternoon walk by the three children in a Leeds cemetery. The judge said that because the boy was so young and the circumstances of the case so unusual, he wanted further advice before passing sentence.

The hearing had seen careful efforts to disentangle what happened in the cemetery and attempt to place them in the context of children's behaviour.

There have been several rape charges against young boys in recent years, including two 10-year-olds who were

acquitted in Manchester last year. The issue has raised concern about the appropriate ways of dealing with attacks involving very young perpetrators and victims.

The two days of evidence, described as "difficult and upsetting" by Judge Myerson, included claims that the 12-year-old twice climbed on top of the girl during the outing last September, and threatened to burn the uncle's clothes on a campfire the children had made if he did not do the same.

Giving evidence by video link, the girl described how the 12-year-old had laughed as he raped her. She had been hurt and was scared that she was going to be killed. "I was saying, 'Get off me, get off me', and I was kicking my legs at him. But he wouldn't get off," she told the court.

The boy denied rape but was convicted by the jury of six women and six men.

They had heard that the girl's grandmother had taken her to hospital and called the police after the girl returned home with the boys and accused them of "having rudies with me". She said the 12-year-old had told her he was going to show "what daddies do to mummies".

The court had heard suggestions that the girl had fantasised and that a children's game had got out of hand. But bloodstains were found on her underwear and a doctor confirmed at the hospital that she had suffered penetration.

Judge Myerson thanked the jury and added: "It has been a very difficult and somewhat emotional case. It's a verdict I can well understand."

None of the children can be named for legal reasons.

Ex-officers apologise to emperor over PoWs' protest

John Ezard on Akihito's meeting with veterans committed to reconciliation

EMPEROR Akihito of Japan — under pressure all week to apologise for atrocities against British camp victims — had the unexpected consolation of receiving an apology himself yesterday.

It came from five British ex-officers angry about the "intolerable behaviour" of ex-prisoners of war and internees. Demonstrators dogged the emperor with protests right up to the end of his four-day state visit to Britain.

The ex-officers said this "relentlessly waged" campaign had "tainted and jeopardised Anglo-Japanese relations".

Later it emerged that the

apology — like the protests — was partly motivated by personal trauma left by the horrors of Britain's war with Japan more than 50 years ago.

It was delivered to Akihito by the Burma Campaign Fellowship Group when he attended a reception for Japanese organisations in London on the final day of his visit.

The group has about 100 members dedicated to reconciliation with Japan. Members, who include two peers, an ex-major general and 12 former PoWs, were invited to several official functions during the visit. It has been accused of "sympathy" by some fellow-veterans, a charge it denies.

Its chairman, John Nunneley, aged 76, former managing director of British Transport Advertising, has explained that he spent his life trying to atone for an atrocity in the Burmese jungle. He was forced by circumstance to order the murder of a wounded Japanese prisoner of war.

Mr Nunneley said: "My patrol behind enemy positions found a wounded Japanese soldier on a makeshift bed, in a grass hut. He gave a slight smile, perhaps to conceal his fear. We gave him water and a biscuit while I thought what to do with him."

"We had to continue the patrol, so we could not carry him with us as a prisoner. I knew that the wounded man must not be allowed to live. And I knew that because a single revolver shot would bring the enemy upon us, he had to die silently."

"There is no tiny detail of that jungle scene which is not etched deeply on my mind's eye. In those few moments when we looked at one another, he taught me the value of human life. As the years passed, I knew I must make amends for that young soldier I condemned to death."

Mr Nunneley first confessed his action at a Westminster church service during the VJ Day commemorations in 1995. Yesterday he added: "The prisoner was bayoneted on my orders by one of my askari [Asian soldiers]. I can never

forget that his arms were in a position of surrender. I have never since been able to lie in that position."

Yesterday he told the emperor: "On behalf of my organisation and many thousands of Far East veterans who represent the silent majority, I apologise for the discourtesies you have received."

Afterwards he said Akihito was "appreciative". But the emperor had added that he understood the feelings of prisoners of war.

On the pavement outside the reception, news of the apology aroused irritation among elderly camp victims exhausted after protesting at a total of 13 official functions.

"I don't think it was called for," said Keith Martin, chairman of the Association of British Civilian Internees Far East Region.

For once, the demonstrators relaxed their watch by dispersing before the emperor left the reception. They said a 90-year-old woman among them was in distress from exhaustion and needed help.

Later, the emperor's visit to the London British Red Cross headquarters made one official of the internees association, Muriel Parham, aged 60, recall one of her own traumas. She said her mother weighed only four stone when released from Japanese internment. Yet their American liberators found a building in the camp stacked to the ceiling with Red Cross parcels.

Heads get full control of budgets

John Carvel
Education Editor

THE Government yesterday completed the Tories' revolution in education when it announced plans to delegate 100 per cent of the schools budget to headteachers and governing bodies, leaving local education authorities with a tightly controlled administrative role.

Stephen Byers, the school standards minister, told the National Association of Head Teachers conference in Eastbourne that every state school would get the financial freedoms previously reserved for the grant-maintained sector, established in 1989 as a haven for schools wanting to escape education authority control.

Heads will take over wide-ranging responsibilities, including school meals, repairs and administration of the staff payroll.

Schools will get their own bank accounts and keep the interest earned on any deposit of public funds.

Mr Byers said they would be able to buy back services from the education authority if it seemed good value for money.

Instead of opting out of local authority control, they would have discretion to opt back in for particular functions. The new deal was "not dissimilar" to the grant-maintained arrangements "in that there will be opportunities for schools to have financial responsibility for a whole range of areas," he said.

It would establish a level playing field between the different types of state school, eliminating the advantages that GM schools have hitherto enjoyed.

The Government was making no estimate of the resources being switched from education authorities to school accounts, but the Local

Government Association thought the sum would be about £600 million. David Wilcox, its vice-chairman of education, said efficient authorities would continue to carry out a lot of the work because they would give the best value for money, but weak councils might suffer. Although the association is concerned that local authorities are becoming "the agents of government in the localities" instead of free-standing democratic bodies, it is unlikely to fight the principle of the reform during consultations over the next two months.

The new system is due to come into force next April when byzantine accounting rules allowing authorities to salt away Exchequer funds for their own purposes will be eliminated.

They will be allowed to spend money on four specific functions to support their schools, including central administration, school transport, helping school improvement and spending on special educational needs, including the education psychology service and pupil referral units.

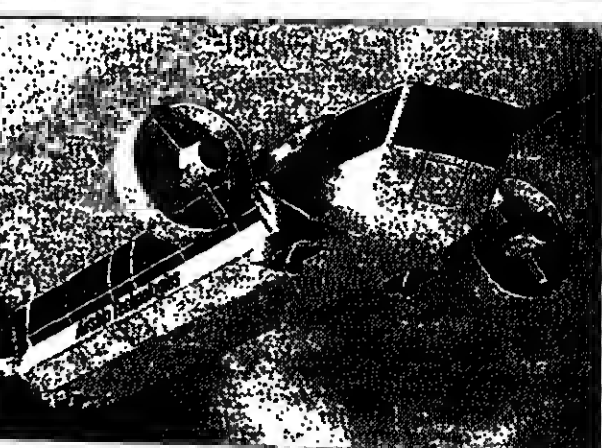
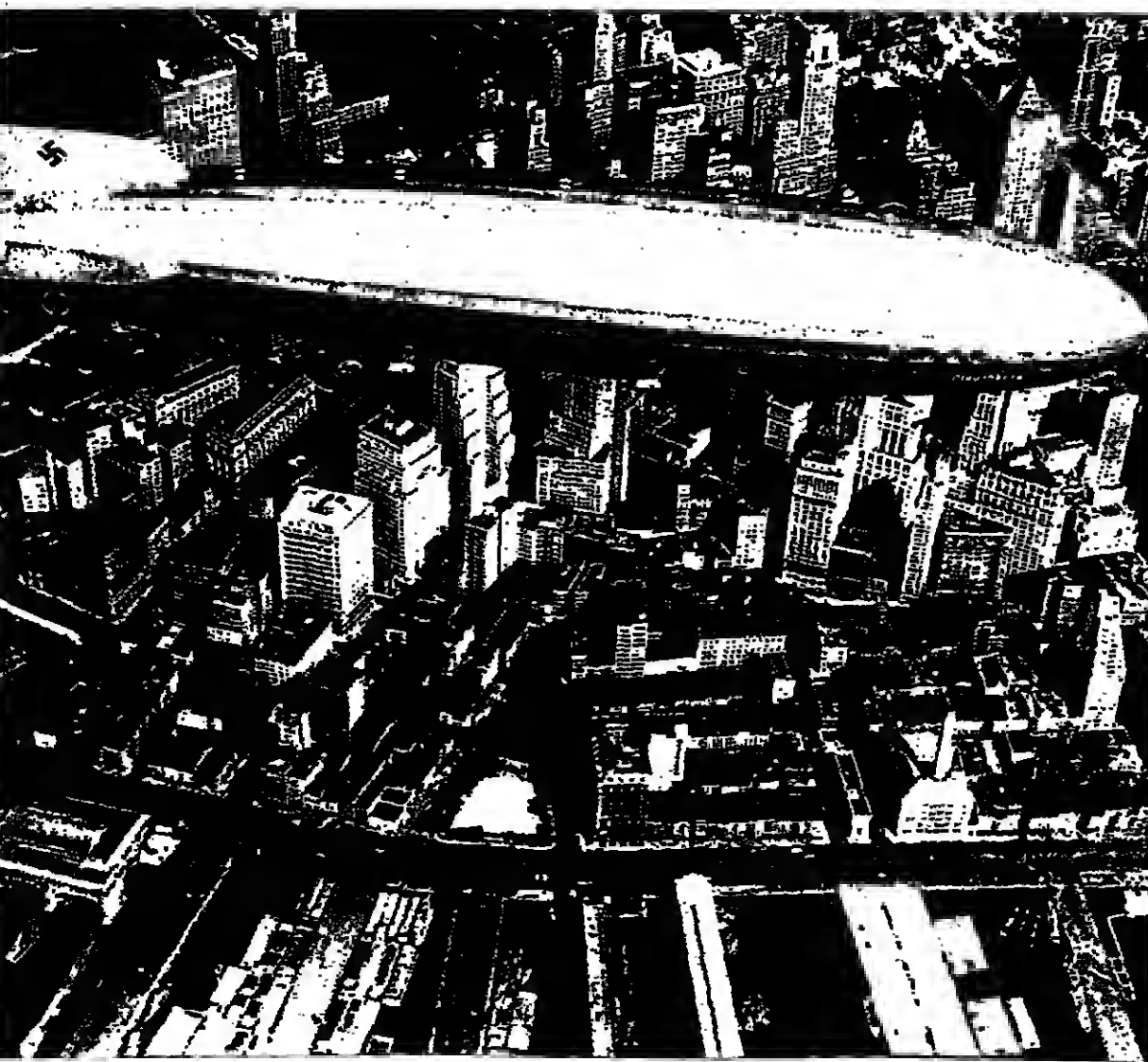
All other money in the schools budget will have to be delegated to heads and governors. The system will be policed by district auditors. "There will be no question of education authorities being able to exploit the new system to withhold money from schools," Mr Byers said.

Funding of the school music service will be nationalised to protect it from further cuts.

The Government will set a minimum level of education authority provision to guarantee existing services for at least three years as a prelude to expansion.

The proposals for delegating more funding to school level are similar to a scheme advanced by the Conservatives at the last election.

Airships are back, reports James Meikle



New era: A drawing of Airship Technologies' 279ft craft (above) which will be capable of carrying 66 passengers and crew at 80 knots. Old era: The Hindenburg (left) over New York before its crash in 1937 ended the first airship age

1852 First successful airship built by Henri Giffard in France. 1900 Ferdinand Graf von Zeppelin, begins building airships. First World War Zeppelin bombing missions over England and France. Allied airships used against submarines. 1919 British dirigible R34 makes round-trip transatlantic crossing. 1924 American and British experts killed in R38 accident over the Humber. 1928 Italian airship carrying Arctic explorer Roald Amundsen crosses North Pole. 1929 775ft-long Graf Zeppelin flies round world. In its nine-year life it flew more than a million miles carrying 16,000 passengers during 17,176 hours. 1930 Forty-eight people, including Lord Thompson, the Air

Minister, die as the R101 crashes near Beauvais, France, en route to India. 1937 Hindenburg becomes one of the first mass-media disasters as it crashes in flames in New Jersey on its 38th Atlantic crossing, killing 35 of 97 passengers and crew and a member of the ground staff. Second World War American airships have great success on convoy protection. 1972 First airship in 20 years cruises over Britain. Damaged a month later after breaking loose. 1988 (Short-lived) air tours over London. 2000 Luxury tourist cruises back over capital? German-built CargoLifter carrying 160 tons of freight enter service? Zeppelins over the Alps? 150-metre Holland-Mellier Navigators planned for the Netherlands.

This is not just a massive pie in the sky

AIRSHIPS of the future will carry tourists watching whales and wild game, or be green sky-juggernauts, carrying huge loads cheaply and efficiently with no need of runways, or the next century's equivalent of barrage balloons, guarding against attack by surface-skimming cruise missiles, or vehicles for safe clearance of landmines.

Pie in the sky? Or are the back-to-the-future dreams of the airship enthusiasts finally about to take off? A prototype Zeppelin is flying again. Cargo-

already being promoted for a variety of civil and military uses, should be able to cross the Atlantic. It will be small compared with the 803ft Hindenburg, which crashed in flames in New Jersey in 1937, but by 2002 a 450-seater, 475ft ship could be ready. Change the accommodation for luxury long-distance flights for 100 people, and it may be ploughing its state-roomed way to Sydney with just one stop, at New Delhi.

In South Africa, an airship is being designed to carry 65 passengers on transatlantic flights at 100 mph. Mike Rentell, secretary of the Airship Association, which holds a conference in Bedford next month, insists: "There is a real role for them in modern aviation, although the technology has only just really viable."

Modern materials for the balloon envelopes, the reduced need for heavyload bearing structures and more efficient engines have all helped. Scores of trained ground staff were once needed but a mobile mast, needing a ground crew of three, has had trials in Britain

and America, and the new Airship Technologies model, the AT-04, will have thrusters to allow ground-handling without a ground crew. Explosive hydrogen balloons, has been replaced by helium. "There is no problem with fire. Modern airships are huge fire extinguishers with all that helium," says Mr Rentell.

It was not accidents that killed the giant airships, he maintains. But the second world war, which forced development of four-engine aircraft. "But airships were going from

Minister
counts



John Major

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The Guardian Saturday May 30 1998

Ministers in dock on death squads as Spain mounts a trial few countries would chance



Jose Barriónuevo, the former interior minister, (left) and his deputy, Rafael Vera

Madrid's 'Anti-terrorist Liberation Groups' killed 27 people. Barely half were Basque guerrillas. **John Hooper** watches a milestone case based on the premise that the state must act legally, even when it is pursuing those who seek to destroy it

THE time: December, 1983. The place: an isolated farmhouse amid the snows of the Picos de Europa, the mountains that stretch west from the Basque country along Spain's Atlantic coast.

A man is sitting on a stone bench. Despite the bitter cold, he is wearing nothing but pyjamas. A blanket has been put around his shoulders and a hood placed over his head, then rolled back up so that he can make himself heard to the others in the room. They are all armed. Every so often, the man on the bench asks pitifully if they are going to kill him.

In an office in Bilbao, the Basque country's biggest city, three men are talking late into the night. They are the men who organised the kidnapping and they are grappling with the appalling fact that their subordinates have got the wrong person. Every so often, a telephone rings, and men yet further up the chain of command come on to ask questions, demand explanations, give orders.

Scenes described in vivid detail this week in a Madrid courtroom. Scenes all too sadly typical of the deadly struggle in the Basque country where, for the last 30 years, the separatist guerrillas of ETA have been waging a terrorist war on the Spanish state.

Except that, in this instance, the armed men in the isolated farmhouse were not ETA guerrillas, but police inspectors. The men seated in the office in Bilbao were a police superintendent, the police commissioner and the

provincial civil governor. The men on the telephone were a junior minister at the interior ministry, and the interior minister himself, José Barriónuevo, the third most senior member of Felipe González's Socialist government — a government elected the year before to cleanse Spain of its authoritarian legacies.

This week, all nine men went on trial, together with two other police officers and the former leader of the Socialist party in the Basque country, in proceedings that represent a milestone in Spain's nascent democracy. Their prosecution is the latest stage in the unravelling of the tangled story of the Spanish state's Anti-terrorist Liberation Groups, or GAL — "death squads" that appeared in 1983 after the Socialists came to power. Their mission was to destabilise ETA in its "safe havens" across the border in France.

Yet of the 27 people the squads killed, barely half were ETA guerrillas. Some were not even ETA sympathisers. Some were not even Basques.

The man who ended up being held for 10 days in that lonely mountain farmhouse was not a terrorist desperado, but a French citizen by the name of Segundo Marcy, an employee of a co-operative and a keen amateur gardener. The prosecution alleges he has been marked for life by his experience and has suffered ever since from a neurotic death wish.

The trial that opened Monday of those who organised his abduction and supervised his detention is an extraordinary



A poster from the 1980s, when terrorism was rife, calls on Basques to be loyal to their own

showdown. The two politicians who for years were chiefly responsible for the maintenance of law and order in Spain stand charged with running an armed gang and holding a member of the public against his will. If convicted, Mr Barriónuevo and his deputy, Rafael Vera, face up to 30 years in prison.

One of their co-defendants, a former police inspector, enters and leaves the court each day in a motorcycle helmet that completely obscures his features. His former colleagues have several times been involved in bitter, indignant exchanges with counsel, seemingly unable to accept that their conduct can be open to question.

Events surrounding the trial are no less bizarre. Much of the evidence before the court this week first surfaced in the Madrid newspaper *El Mundo*. Last October, copies began to circulate of a secretly recorded video showing the paper's editor, Pedro Ramirez, indulging in sex play with an Ecuadorian Guinean prostitute.

She has since told an investigating magistrate she was paid \$200,000 to have the encounter filmed. She has said the money was handed over by a former Socialist civil governor in the Basque country in the presence of an aide of Mr González.

But the hearing is much more than a curiosity. A commentator in the weekly news magazine *El tiempo* said that, with the exception of cases arising from the 1981 coup attempt, this was the "most important trial since the start of Spain's democratic transformation".

The issue is the extent to which Spaniards wish their democracy to be one governed wholly by the rule of law. The question has split society from top to bottom.

Some argue that in a country where people are still being killed by separatist terrorism, government must sometimes shut its eye to the violation of legal niceties. Others maintain that, even if this is no longer a sustainable argument, it was a more valid one in the early 1980s when ETA's violence was at its height and the young, incoming Socialist cabinet was under immense pressure from the security establishment.

For supporters of the prosecution, on the other hand, any backsliding from the principle of legitimacy risks pushing the country spinning back towards authoritarianism.

These apparently clear-cut divisions are blurred by claims that the trial's promoters were motivated less by a concern for legal rectitude than a desire for political vengeance or advantage.

The judge who nursed the case through its early stages was a disillusioned former member of Mr González's administration. One of the police officers first implicated, and convicted, of a role in the GAL testified this week that, before the conservative People's Party took power in 1996, one of its most senior officials, Francisco Alvarez-Cascos, now the deputy prime minister, promised him an eventual pardon for testimony incriminating the Socialists.

He said the meeting took place in Mr Ramirez's office at *El Mundo*. Both Mr Ramirez and Mr Alvarez-Cascos have denied his allegations. Above and beyond the intricate details of the case, though, is the fact of the trial itself — based firmly on the premise that the state must keep within the confines of the law, even in its pursuit

of those who seek to destroy it. Outsiders tempted to talk condescendingly of Spain's "immature" democracy might reflect that nothing like this ever arose from the sinking of the *Belgrano* or the killings on the Rock.

WORLD NEWS 5

French vote on genocide riles Turks

Jon Hoxby in Paris

A DIPLOMATIC row flared between France and Turkey yesterday after the French national assembly voted to recognise the killings more than 80 years ago of as many as 1.5 million Armenians by Turks.

The motion, tabled by a cross-party group led by Patrick Devedjian, a Gaullist MP who is a descendant of one of the massacre survivors, states simply: "France publicly recognises the Armenian genocide of 1915."

It was passed unanimously by about 30 deputies present in the 577-seat legislature. If the bill is passed by the senate, France — which has one of the largest Armenian communities in Europe — will join Russia and Canada in using the term "genocide" to describe the deaths of between 1.1 and 1.5 million Armenians in Ottoman Turkey between 1915 and 1923.

Turkey denies the deaths constitute genocide, insisting that only about 300,000 Turks and Armenians died as a result of civil war on land which is now eastern Turkey and Syria.

But Armenian groups and historians say the community was driven en masse from eastern Turkey for fear it would ally itself with Russian forces then advancing in the Caucasus, and that the exodus was marked by systematic atrocities, mass killings and summary executions.

The Turkish prime minister, Mesut Yilmaz, wrote to his French counterpart, Lionel Jospin, to say the motion

would antagonise Turks and harm political and trade relations.

"The Turkish people are extremely sensitive about the use of the word 'genocide' to describe the sad events which occurred during the Great War," he said. "They feel unjustly accused of a crime they did not commit during a time marked by great suffering on both sides."

Ankara said the French vote was a serious mistake. "I strongly condemn this decision which encourages racism and incites racist terror against Turkey," the foreign minister, Ismail Cem, said.

"It is clear the people who support this decision prefer their racist emotions to France's national interests."

The Turkish foreign minister, Hubert Vadrine, said he had explained to Ankara that the bill was "a purely parliamentary initiative".

But members of France's community of about 300,000 Armenians say the bill has an important symbolic value. "Could Germany construct Europe with us if it was still asking itself if the gas chambers existed?" asked René Rouquet, a Socialist deputy from a constituency with a large Armenian population.

"It is in the interests of the Turkish people and government to recognise these acts, which were committed by a minority before the birth of their republic."

Ku Klux Klan trio charged with 1966 killing of activist

Martha Kettle in Washington

THIRTY-TWO years after the firebombing murder of Mississippi black civil rights activist Vernon Dahmer, three members of the Ku Klux Klan have been charged with the 1966 killing.

One of the men charged in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, late on Thursday is Sam Bowers, the founder and former Imperial Wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, an organisation linked by investigators to 10 murders dur-

ing the 1960s. Mr Bowers, aged 73, is charged with Deavours Nix, aged 72, and Charles Noble, aged 55. All three face charges of arson, while Mr Bowers and Mr Noble are charged with murder. The trial is set for August 17.

Mr Bowers has faced four separate trials over the years in connection with the Dahmer case, but in every case the all-white juries have been deadlocked.

"This time is going to be different," Mississippi's attorney-general, Mike Moore, said yesterday.

society

News in brief

Jilted woman cites Viagra

A Long Island woman is suing her common-law husband for running off with another woman after taking the impotence drug Viagra. *Mark Tron in New York writes.*

Robert Burke, aged 63, is suing Frank Bernardo, aged 70, for \$2 million plus emotional damages. She claims he left her days after Viagra restored his sexual vigour.

Copycat protest

Zimbabwe riot police yesterday fired teargas and beat students with batons to break up a protest against President Robert Mugabe's rule, witnesses said. Students claim they can force Mr Mugabe out in the same way as Indonesia's Mr Suharto. — Reuters.

Goldwater dies

Barry Goldwater, the right-wing former Republican senator from Arizona who founded America's modern

conservative movement, has died at the age of 89. — AP. *Obituary, page 21*

Holocaust records

A unique collection of records relating to Holocaust victims will be opened to the public for the first time under an agreement reached by the International Tracing Service, *Richard Norton-Taylor writes.*

The 47 million documents include records of the Buchenwald and Dachau camps.

Colombian polls

Independent candidate Noemi Sanin has won unexpectedly strong support on the eve of Colombia's presidential elections this weekend and looks set to win the vote in Bogotá, polls showed yesterday. — Reuters.

Diplomatic ties

Kenya said it will restore diplomatic relations with Libya. The countries have resolved differences stemming from the deportation of five Libyan diplomats in 1987, the foreign ministry said this week. — AP.

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Washington goes back to square one

DIPLOMACY/Martin Kettle
examines the consequences
of a comprehensive failure
in American foreign policy

THE failure of United States policy could hardly have been more dramatic or more personal. In a 30-minute telephone call from the White House in the small hours of Thursday morning, President Bill Clinton pleaded with Pakistan's prime minister, Nawaz Sharif, to stay the imminent explosion of five nuclear devices.

White House sources said the conversation was "anguished and impassioned". The New York Times said Mr Clinton had "all but begged" Mr Sharif to hold off.

Yesterday Washington began the huge task of assessing the full scale of its comprehensive policy failure in the Indian subcontinent. The reverses range from the technical — the CIA's failure to spot the preparations for India's five nuclear tests earlier this month — through the political — Mr Clinton's inability to shift the Pakistani lead-

'It says that the US, despite its wealth and power, cannot control every event, every place in the world'

ership from matching the Indian tests — to the strategic — the realisation that the world's sole superpower cannot orchestrate a post-cold-war Pax Americana as easily as many imagine.

No one put the failure more succinctly than Mr Clinton's press spokesman, Mike McCurry. "What does it say about the president's clout in international affairs that both India and now Pakistan have summarily rejected his advice?" he was asked.

He replied: "It says that the United States of America, despite all of its wealth and its might, cannot control every event, every place in the world, particularly in a place where for five decades now governments have fought wars and peoples have lived with incredible tension."

This is an important admission by an important spokesman. Ever since the cold war ended, Americans have been led to believe that they alone control a world essentially submissive to US wealth and power.

Yet on one important occasion after another this expectation has been disappointed: in Bosnia, the Middle East, and the Gulf. Now comes the most serious failure of all, the inability to prevent two new

nuclear powers emerging within a matter of weeks.

The White House was scrambling yesterday to interpret what has gone wrong and put in place a policy which will both work and represent US interests in curbing the growing world arms race.

All of a sudden, Washington is confronting problems on which it has been caught napping: the sheer proximity of two new nuclear powers as little as five minutes' missile flying time apart, the absence of safety measures like the cold war nuclear "hotline" between Washington and Moscow, the domestic pressures driving India, Pakistan and other big developing states into the arms race, and the failure of American policy-makers to consider preventive efforts in the region until far too late.

Mr Clinton's first response to Pakistan's nuclear tests was to impose immediate sanctions on the regime in Islamabad. According to official briefings, his actual words were: "If you do this, Nawaz, I have to do this, and it will hurt you a lot more than it'll hurt India."

His officials have tried to dramatise the immediate effectiveness of sanctions, emphasising that international aid represents almost double the proportion of Pakistan's GNP compared with India's.

Yet there is an element of bravado to these claims. US aid to Pakistan, so great during the cold war, when Pakistan was almost as much a US client as India was the Soviet Union's, has slumped to around \$60 million a year.

Moreover, Washington's assumptions that its sanctions will prevent the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank giving aid may be an illusion.

World Bank officials said yesterday that Pakistan had already had all the \$600 million aid promised in its current fiscal year. The US cannot therefore try to block the next tranche of World Bank credits to Pakistan until autumn at the earliest.

And with most board members of both institutions — and most of the US's traditional allies, including Britain — generally opposed to sanctions, the aid flow may not be interrupted at all.

Meanwhile Washington will try to rebuild its credibility by pressing India and Pakistan to curb the arms race.

Five measures are under discussion: Renouncing further tests, reducing tension by dialogue, signing the Test Ban Treaty, joining talks on a new international fissile material treaty, and promising not to put nuclear weapons on existing delivery systems.



At Hiroshima's Peace Memorial Park, a Japanese civic group protests at Pakistan's nuclear tests

Britons worry about war risk for relatives

REACTION/The developments have been watched closely by Asians here

Vivek Chaudhary and Martin Wainwright

AS POLITICIANS posture menacingly on the subcontinent, the thoughts of many Britons of Pakistani and Indian origin were with their relatives as concerns grew about a possible nuclear war.

There was little flag-waving and cheering when India tested its first nuclear device and the response has been similar in Pakistani communities in the past two days. Few people from either community believe that events on the subcontinent will lead to communal tensions in Britain.

In Southall, west London, a community made up predominantly of Indians from the state of Punjab which borders Pakistan, there were fears that a nuclear attack would have a direct impact on the state.

Piara Khaira, Labour MP for the area and chairman of the Indian Workers' Association, said: "The problem is that if one country attacks the other then it's going to harm both. Many people in my constituency have families living close to the border, so obviously they are very worried."

"Both countries have terrible social problems, poverty and disease. It's a shame that they are not tackling these with the same enthusiasm. At the end of the day, this whole situation has been created by the hypocrisy of the West, which has no moral right to preach to either India or Pakistan."

Many felt that while war is not the answer, it is unfair that only the big five nuclear powers should be allowed to have weapons.

"It's a hypocrisy," Inderjit Baines, a local resident, said. "Obviously no one wants a nuclear war, but if you are going to get rid of these weapons then all the countries in the world have to do it at the same time."

Surtur Hoda of the Gandhi Foundation said: "Both countries are in the same position, they are poor and 60 per cent of villages in both countries don't even have drinking water."

"It's sheer madness to spend all this money on arms, and no one is going to win in a nuclear war."

Loyalty to Pakistan was the first reaction on the streets of Bradford, but tempered with concern about the cost and potentially disastrous consequences of nuclear sabre-rattling.

"It is always the people at the bottom of the heap who suffer if the worst happens," said Arshad Hussain, who won a Bradford council seat for the Conservatives after a bitter contest in May.

"And they have plenty of relatives here. Yes, Pakistan was in a position where it had basically no choice, but everyone wants to see things calm down. Pakistan's economy is not in such a good state, and the cost of these tests is very worrying. The worry now is about what will happen next. People need to work for peace at every level."

His views were echoed on the streets of Birmingham, the inner city area which houses many of Bradford's 60,000-strong Muslim community.

Yacoub Ansari, a clothes shop owner, said: "I was happy to see about the Pakistan tests on television. Pakistan is a small country and India is a very big one. What else was Pakistan to do?"

The city has seen no communal tension since India's tests, to the extent that the Interfaith Centre has not been asked even to schedule discussions of the nuclear issue. Former Labour councillor Rangzeb, chairman of the local Pakistan Forum, said there had been no trouble even in the immediate shock of the Indian tests.

"Today, most people are saying Pakistan was forced into the tests," he said. "Although there are others who feel a chance to get world opinion on our side has been lost."

"But there is no problem in Bradford itself. Things have happened in India and Pakistan matter to people here but they shouldn't affect the peaceful relations we have."

Islamabad banks on patriotism as it calls on people to brace for hardship

AID/Suzanne Goldenberg in Islamabad, Mark Tran and John Vidal report on Pakistan's drastic attempts to stave off bankruptcy as overseas donors halt loans

PAKISTAN yesterday warned its citizens they would all have to pay for its nuclear tests, but it staved off an immediate threat of bankruptcy by freezing withdrawals from foreign currency bank accounts.

Banks and private money changers were closed to prevent the flight of hard currency from a country whose foreign exchange reserves are a paltry \$200 million. The government plans more drastic measures, making use of a state of emergency declaration to crack down on tax evaders and loan defaulters, and the setting up of a National Council of Self Reliance.

"We need every dollar," said Sartaj Aziz, the finance minister, announcing a four-month suspension of withdrawals from foreign currency accounts, whose worth is estimated at \$5.5 billion.

Mr Aziz said account holders would be allowed to withdraw funds in Pakistani rupees, but that he hoped investors would do the patriotic thing and buy defence and other government bonds.

The government believes it can withstand the loss of \$200 million in new loans from the International Monetary Fund. But it fears the wider effects of a crisis in confidence in the economy. "There will certainly be some downsizing in investment," Mr Aziz said.

Meanwhile, some economists tried to minimise the impact of sanctions, saying

defence and debt servicing. From 1990 to 1996, India and Pakistan together spent \$43 billion on defence and \$7.4 billion on education. Pakistan is the more vulnerable to sanctions because of its weaker economy.

The country, with a gross national product of \$295 a head in 1996, has a foreign debt of \$18 billion. United States sanctions would deprive Pakistan of \$1.8 billion in aid, loans and loan guarantees.

Pakistan will suffer an immediate cut-off in direct US military and economic aid. In the 1999 US budget, Pakistan was to receive \$215,000 for military training and \$1.2 million for its battle against drugs. In the non-military sphere, Washington must cut off Pakistan's loans and end loan guarantees from the Overseas Private Invest-

ment Corporation and the US Export-Import Bank.

In other action required by US law, the administration will block any new lending by the IMF and the World Bank. This could badly hurt Pakistan as it leans heavily on both for economic support. The World Bank approved \$500 million in loans this year and planned to lend \$400 million in 1999.

"It's unclear whether the US can summon the critical mass to block these loans," said a World Bank official.

The IMF approved a three-year financing package of \$200 million last October to help Pakistan get its economy into shape.

In absolute terms, India is the World Bank's biggest borrower, with cumulative lending of \$27 billion as of April 1998. The sanctions against it

could put the brakes on private US investment at a time when New Delhi is trying to woo foreign companies.

In all, India stands to lose \$2.8 billion in US aid and assistance and about \$2.4 billion from the banks. But both India and Pakistan have said that they are willing to tough out any sanctions.

Aid agencies last night predicted that any measures taken would hit the poor hardest. David Husselbee of Save the Children said in Islamabad: "If the World Bank suspends funding it will mean many long-term development projects for the most needy will be suspended. These might include community, primary education, credit and savings initiatives, literacy, HIV awareness and other social programmes. It could be very significant."



An army vehicle carries a medium-range surface to surface missile in military parade in Islamabad PHOTOGRAPH BY MUHAMMAD RASHID

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15.9%	£1,000	£95.06	£1,118.06	£81.94

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The benefits are mutual



A Pakistani child stands up to look while others offer special prayers of thanks yesterday in an Islamabad mosque after nuclear tests by Pakistan on Thursday. People nationwide showed support for the government. PHOTOGRAPH: A. K. BANGASH

Whose finger is on the button?

MILITARY BALANCE/South Asia's atomic plans are driven not by a coherent command, nor by slow meticulous science, but by politics

Suzanne Goldenberg
in Islamabad
and Richard Norton-Taylor

India and Pakistan are conducting nuclear explosions with such haste that they have yet to develop command structures, according to military analysts.

And for Pakistan, embracing a nuclear first-strike as an integral part of its military strategy is particularly seductive, analysts said yesterday — its conventional armed forces are about half the size of India's.

There is also a temptation to launch such a strike before India builds mobile launchers and hardened shelters. India is estimated to have enough enriched uranium for 90 nuclear warheads, against 10 for Pakistan.

"The short term will be more dangerous," said Professor Paul Rogers of Bradford University's school of peace

studies. The threat is that Pakistan will adopt a "use them or lose them scenario", he added.

His views were echoed on the subcontinent, where analysts said that Pakistan was unlikely to agree to India's offer of a "no first-strike" pact, because that would defeat its point in going nuclear in the first place.

"So far the Pakistani position is that it is not willing to accept a no first-strike agreement," said retired Lieutenant-General Raghavan, director of the Delhi Study Group, an independent think-tank. "By agreeing to a no first-use, it would put itself at a great disadvantage because of India's great superiority in conventional forces."

"Now restraint is no longer there, we are both overtly nuclearised states with attendant dangers and problems," said Munir Ahmed Khan, who retired in 1991 after nearly 20 years as director of

Pakistan's Atomic Energy Commission.

But Dr Khan said the pace and timing of the tests owed more to a desire to minimise international opprobrium than scientific compulsion: "I think the five tests by India and Pakistan were political."

India exploded three devices on May 11, and another two on May 13. Pakistan announced on Thursday that it, too, had exploded five.

"Why five tests in only one or two days? Even the most advanced nuclear-weapons states seldom conducted such extensive tests in one or two days. They took their time learning."

Such luxury will not be available to either country as they move now to develop nuclear command structures. Although India first exploded a nuclear device in 1974, and Pakistan claims to have acquired nuclear capability some 15 years ago, the decision-makers behind their nu-

clear programmes were never out in the open.

India has 1.1 million men under arms, compared to 600,000 in Pakistan. But the arms race has exacted a far crueler price in Pakistan, where defence accounts for at least a quarter of government spending.

India spends \$9.4 billion (\$5.8 billion) on defence, or 2.8 per cent of its GNP. Pakistan spends \$2.9 billion (\$1.8 billion) or 5.2 per cent of its GNP.

India divided its nuclear programme between the military Defence Research and Development Organisation and its civilian atomic energy organisation. In theory, Pakistan's nuclear programme was under the direction of Dr Khan, but by the mid-1970s he had lost authority to a younger rival at the Kahuta Research Laboratory.

"Neither side has any arrangements for a nuclear command structure," said General D. Banerjee of New Delhi's Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies.

However, Pakistan is a step closer to a unified chain of command, he said, because its military is more integrated

than India's. India's air, army and naval chiefs operate with relative autonomy. In Pakistan, more than two decades of dictatorship have made the army the real power.

The Pakistani army chief, General Jehangir Karamat, was in close contact with politicians in deciding to stage this week's nuclear tests.

India's Hindu nationalist coalition had promised on coming to power earlier this year to set up a national security council that would undertake a strategic review which would consider future nuclear strategy. Though it

abandoned that pledge, the coalition still intends to set up a such a council. This could, presumably, help drive nuclear policy.

Though India and Pakistan agreed in 1991 not to attack each other's nuclear installations, that pact — for Pakistan at least — remains highly suspect following the Indian tests.

Analysts also pointed out that the nuclear relationship between India and Pakistan would not mirror those of the cold war: Indian and Pakistan were neighbours with a disputed border, a festering con-

flict — over Kashmir — and no confidence-building measures in place.

Stephen Cohen, an expert on India-Pakistan military affairs who is soon to join the Brookings Institution in Washington, put it this way: "Pakistan is a profoundly insecure state. It is a state that feels itself surrounded by enemies, beginning with Iran. Afghanistan has turned out to be a terrible disaster for them. The Indians are as troublesome as ever."

"Their friends are not really friends. The United States has moved out of the

region, and the Chinese are cool. Add to that their domestic troubles."

Other US analysts said they believed India, now under a new Hindu nationalist leadership seeking to broaden its political support, is determined to acquire a world-power image it feels it has been unfairly denied.

The point was made clear in a statement on nuclear policy presented to India's Parliament on Wednesday by the prime minister, Atal Vajpayee. The bomb, he said, "is India's due, the right of one-sixth of mankind".

Brinkmanship and bravado in the valley of disaffection

FLASHPOINT/Suzanne Goldenberg reports on fears that Kashmir could be the trigger for a violent conflagration

Even on a day so tumultuous that newspapers hailed "Pakistan's finest hour" while economists predicted financial doom, there was a moment to spare for a favourite national obsession: the disputed territory of Kashmir.

Yesterday, as on most other days, Pakistani newspapers gave prominent space to a story from Indian-controlled Kashmir, where soldiers have all but crushed an uprising against New Delhi's rule.

Rather than the casualty reports that are followed here so closely, it was about a few stray celebrants of the Pakistani nuclear test in Srinagar, the summer capital of the Indian portion of the region.

In Islamabad, one of the thousands attending Friday prayers at the Faisal Mosque to offer a thanksgiving for the nuclear tests, said: "Although the arms race is a very bad thing, we had to have a strong position against our enemy, India."

Jamila Abrar, a doctor, added: "It's not just about us saying that it should not be threatened, it is saying that India should not be allowed to go on persecuting Muslims in Kashmir."

To Washington and much

of the world, Kashmir, parcelled out between India, Pakistan and China, is the most likely flashpoint for a confrontation between the newly nuclear states of India and Pakistan.

Tension in the already volatile region, like the rhetoric on Kashmir, has soared since New Delhi set off its first nuclear explosion on May 11. Yesterday the Indian prime minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, tried to step back from the brink by offering talks on a nuclear agreement.

But he was less yielding on Kashmir. As soldiers reportedly exchanged fire along the border in Jammu region, he warned Islamabad not to help those rebelling against New Delhi's rule.

"Pakistan should forget the idea of trying to capture Jammu and Kashmir using arms," he told the upper house of parliament. India accuses Pakistan of arming and training the militants who have been fighting against New Delhi's rule since 1989, a charge Pakistan denies. Yesterday its foreign minister, Gohar Ayub Khan, turned the tables on India by accusing New Delhi of plotting the "hot pursuit" of militants across the divided fron-

tier. The Indian home minister, L. K. Advani, has ruled out such plans.

The neighbours have fought two of their three wars since independence over Kashmir, and the mountain territory is divided along the line where their soldiers were stopped by a United Nations ceasefire in 1948.

Ever since then Pakistan has insisted that New Delhi must obey UN resolutions and hold a plebiscite in the valley. India insists that Kashmir is an integral part of its territory, and that it will countenance no outside mediation. Attitudes have hardened further since the uprising began in 1989.

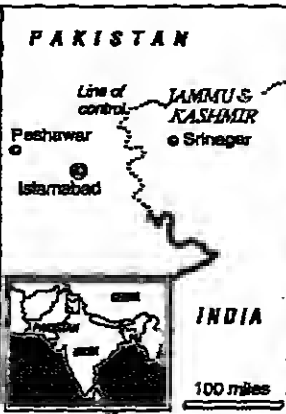
To India, control of Kashmir — its only Muslim-majority state — is proof of its claim to be a secular democracy. To Pakistan, Indian rule over the valley symbolises the global suffering of Muslims. To the people of Kashmir, the tug-of-war means their aspirations for independence are usually overlooked.

The neighbours are so far apart on Kashmir that they have been unable even to agree the terms on which discussions can start. Behind the sabre-rattling, however, it is unlikely that either wants to go to war.

"I don't think Kashmir as a flashpoint is capable of raising temperatures in the subcontinent to that extent," said V. R. Raghavan of the Delhi Policy Group, an independent think tank.

"One can't rule out the leadership on either side undertaking immature actions or indulging in rhetoric, but I don't think even that is capable of turning Kashmir into a nuclear battlefield."

The fear that Kashmir could provoke a confrontation drew a leading Kashmiri separatist alliance, the All Parties Hurriyat (Freedom) Conference, to call for international pressure on India and Pakistan to settle the issue and avoid a regional nuclear arms race.



History of struggle

October 26, 1947 — The Maharajah of Kashmir, fearing tribal warfare, gives way to Indian pressure by "signing" the Instrument of Accession. 1947-48 — Heavy fighting takes place between Indian and Pakistani forces over Kashmir. On January 1, 1949 a ceasefire creates the first Line-of-Control.

1957 — The state is incorporated into the Indian Union under a new constitution. The puppet government agrees; the people are not consulted.

1965 — Heavy fighting breaks out again. Indian and Pakistani leaders sign the Tashkent agreement on January 1, 1966.

1971 — Indian forces again engage Pakistani troops in Kashmir. A new ceasefire and the signing of the Shimla agreement follow.

1989 — A renewed struggle for freedom begins, with Kashmiris taking up arms. The state government is dissolved and the state placed under direct control of the government.

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So who is the real demon king? Is it Bill Gates or Rupert Murdoch? The squiggle provides the vital clue.

Matthew Engel

Opinion, page 9

The endless crisis of aid

It's about power as well

ARE DISASTER appeals a disaster? The plea from Clare Short for aid agencies to break an "endless cycle" in which the spotlight is switched on crisis areas, and then off again, has added to the debate on humanitarian aid. The aid agencies and many journalists involved have had increasing doubts whether the current approach is effective or even always ethical. Few of those attending Thursday's conference in London on Disasters from Disaster Zones, organised by a coalition of the British agencies, would accept the argument of the Secretary of State for International Development that emergency appeals should be stopped altogether. In the short run that would either mean failing to get the food or blankets where they were needed, or would force the agencies to dig deeper into reserves with no guarantee of replenishment. Yet there must be disquiet at the way in which human misery can become a "story" overnight and be demoted to a brief item a week later. There is also

the question of intrusion, as Princess Anne observed to the same conference. Why is it acceptable to show a half-naked and emaciated Third World woman whose child is dying because she cannot produce milk for it when a comparable image of distress from the First World would be judged a breach of privacy?

Technical and political change over the last decade has made this a very topical issue. There is more television coverage as a result of the satellite explosion and 24-hour news channels; new technology also makes foreign news more immediate. But live reporting means less time to reflect and less time on the air. The print media are more likely now to take their agenda from television and to be influenced by the availability of good pictures. Comment and analysis has suffered. A study of the British channels shows that non-news programming on developing countries was reduced from 1,037 hours in 1989-90 to 790 in 1996-97. There were also fewer peak-time programmes about the developing world.

The focus of the aid agencies has also changed radically. Setting their own agendas has become more complex as they have become conduits for government and UN aid. They now need to adopt a higher and more competitive profile and find them-

selves embroiled in the business of news management — as reflected in recent controversy over whether or not to launch an appeal for southern Sudan. They are expected to be authorities, yet are often too close to the ground to understand the covert interests manipulating the situation. Is it right, the conference was asked, that they should become, by default, "arbiters of the needs of suffering populations"?

The common complaint in these discussions is the lack of analytical depth and perspective both in reporting by the media and in policy formation by agencies and governments. Rwanda and Zaire have been conspicuous recent examples. As a report from the Glasgow Media Group argues, too often the tragedies were explained in terms of "crude views of Africans and 'tribal' behaviour": the heart of the problem was that "public knowledge of Africa and much of the developing world is very limited". Humanitarian aid is no substitute for development: most famines and disasters are made by man not by nature, war and conflict fill the space which should be occupied by peaceful development. Whole populations have been plunged into misery by cynical power alignments, by local corruption or foreign greed, or simply because they don't feature on the geo-strategic map.

In the end, development is a profoundly political business: Ms Short has got it right — but it is a message for governments, including her own, not just the agencies.

A plan too fast

The doctors should be heard

A WEEK with Parliament in recess is a good time to reassess broken promises. A political party which made so much fuss about rising hospital waiting lists under the last government cannot complain when critics note they have continued to rise to a record level of 1.3 million under Labour despite its "early pledge" to reduce them. Ministers are on firmer ground with class sizes. The overcrowded new numbers are unacceptable 1.4 million — but they only promised to end such classes for children aged five to seven with a medium-term date of September 2001. On both fronts, if Labour had not been so imprudent as to adopt Conservative spending totals, more progress would have been achieved.

But last week's fuss over broken promises is hiding a much more serious problem: the revolt by family doctors over the Government's NHS reforms. The euphoria

which greeted Labour's plan six months ago has evaporated. It was a clever plan with a desirable goal: a primary-care led health service. The scheme would rightly end the two-tier health system, which funded the holding GPs introduced, and reduce the cost of administration by replacing annual contracts with three-year agreements. But it will work only if ministers carry health workers with them.

One of the biggest consultation exercises ever carried out in the NHS — 17 meetings attended by 8,000 GPs, community nurses and managers — expressed concern over a raft of issues. Boundaries for the new primary care groups (about 50 GPs serving 100,000 patients) are meant to be drawn within eight weeks. Some areas have not even begun the debate. New three-year agreements are meant to have been made by the autumn but many may not have a chief executive by then. By next April, the new scheme is meant to have been launched. The pace of reform is too fast — and the funds needed to introduce the changes too short. Ministers should slow down: otherwise they may find their scheduled celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the NHS on July 1 will be spoiled by a BMA ballot withholding co-operation from a desirable plan.

Letters to the Editor

Woodhead refuted

CHRIS Woodhead of Ofsted "refutes categorically" the suggestion that he allowed his personal views to influence an HMI report (Letters, May 29). I can't see anything that looks like a refutation, only a rejection. If I was feeling a bit more charitable I'd say he was attempting to rebut the accusations. However, charity towards someone in charge of our "standards in education" seems overly generous if he can't tell the difference between the three Rs.

Andrew Denny, London.

REFUTE: "prove falsity or error of statement, opinion, argument" rebut or repel by argument" (COD). Kevin McGrath, Harlow, Essex.

I AM the full-time carer of my 113-year-old autistic son. Although receptive to ways of organising the family's finances, I have been unable to find even part-time employment which would allow me the time and flexibility necessary to adequately meet my son's unpredictable needs. Whilst I empathise with Angela Browning (Browning quits to help autistic son, May 27) I note that she is still employed full-time as MP for Tiverton. Maybe my search for suitable employment should pursue a more political path.

Kevin Toole, Penistone, S Yorks.

SO "friends and employees" are unanimous in praise of arms dealer Sam Cummings (Obituaries, May 29). I suppose it's too late to ask his victims if they share that view. Alexander Buchanan, Brighton.

THE age of spell-checkers has deprived us (mostly) of the Guardian's entertaining misspellings. Fortunately you have decided to reward us by rewriting the rules of mathematics: "... flattened to a 5ft by 10ft cube" (Two survive as car crushed between trucks, May 28).

Martyn Woolcott

WHAT have Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Ryuto Hashimoto, Sanjiv Chandra and Shri Narayan Shrivastava got in common? Or Nawaz Sharif, Slobodan Milosevic and Saddam Hussein?

All are children of disobedience. They are all challenging the set of economic, political, and military principles, largely Western defined, which is called the international community. Sharif and Vajpayee let off their bombs

Proliferation of danger

STRONGLY condemn the nuclear tests by India and Pakistan and demand strong international action to stop further proliferation and a nuclear arms race.

Western governments, the World Bank and IMF must share responsibility for this situation. Aid and loans to these two countries freed resources for the development of these weapons. The money meant to help eliminate poverty, ignorance, mostly went to corrupt governments and help in repression.

The deployment of nuclear-capable missiles in the subcontinent has made the disputed Punjab region an unthinkably dangerous place. Inbal Singh, Punjab Human Rights Internet, Reading.

TARIQ ALI is right to draw attention to the fact that Pakistan's nuclear bomb is an Islamic bomb (Muslim bomb, May 29). Muslims often refer to the Islamic Nation — the idea of the nation state being inimical to their beliefs. Let's not mislead words: Islam, rather than Pakistan, is now a nuclear power. How soon will it be before this technology is deployed in Islam's other confrontation — against Israel?

Muslims will argue that there is a precedent. The Americans have supplied Britain with components for Trident. Why shouldn't Muslims also help their friends?

Just imagine Saddam or Gadhafi with nuclear weapons. It would place Europe within range of an Islamic bomb. Suddenly the confrontation on the Indian subcontinent seems closer to home. Peter Stockill, Middlesbrough.

WHILE wholly opposing the nuclear weapons tests carried out by India and Pakistan, we condemn the United States government for leading a programme of economic sanctions which will hurt the people of India and Pakistan rather than their governments.

Imposing sanctions to further the interests of US business, for example, by blocking development of India's competitive software industry. Intervening in a part of the world where earlier US interventions have fuelled regional arms races. And imposing a lopsided global "nuclear disarmament" policy where five of the most powerful nations still have nuclear weapons.

We also condemn the governments of India and Pakistan for ignoring the basic needs of their people and draining scarce resources into an arms race; moreover, for using the tests to pose as anti-imperialist while remaining committed to economic policies which serve foreign capital.

We particularly condemn

India's BJP-led government for initiating the nuclear arms race in south Asia, and whipping up communal feeling against Indian Muslims.

Ken Livingstone MP, Tony Benn MP, Hilary Rose, Professor emerita, University of Bradford, Dr Gautam Appa, London School of Economics, Dr Shalini Randeria, University of Berlin, and 20 others.

YOU quote President Clinton as saying after the Pakistani nuclear tests that he could not believe that the Indian subcontinent was "about to repeat the worst mistakes of the 20th century when we know it is not necessary to peace, to security, to prosperity..." (On the nuclear precipice, May 29).

This admission, by the leader of the country with the largest stockpile of nuclear weapons, that they are not necessary for a country's security, destroys all the rhetoric of the last half century. Jim Addington, (CND National Council member) Surbiton, Surrey.

NORTH Korea's missile is called the Nodong. What does that say about the reasons behind the nuclear arms race? Phil Goddard, London.

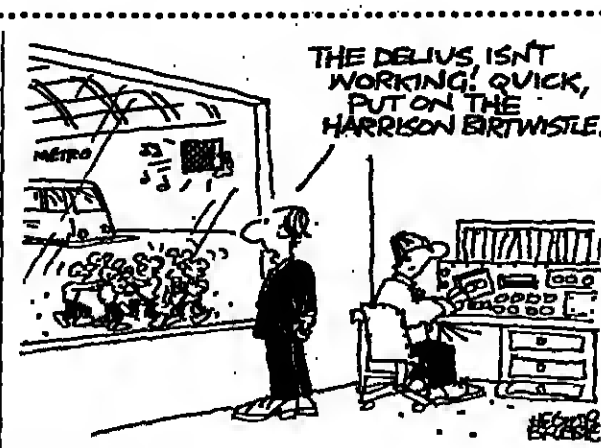
gullt, often to the embarrassment and dismay of their own people. Stephen Preece, Brighton.

TO signal a break with the past the UK Government should make a final ex gratia payment to its surviving POWs and change official commemoration of the 1939-45 war into a general remembrance of the victims of racism and fascism of all nationalities, by so doing showing that we as a country want to live in the 1990s not the 1940s. Phil Hayes, London.

announced that India had exploded a nuclear device, she could not be heard for several minutes because of the enthusiastic thumping of ministers' fists on the table. But the new and more serious decision to test specifically military devices was made at a moment in the country's democratic history when a certain bankruptcy is apparent. Congress is in decline, while a strong alternative party of government has failed to emerge.

INSTEAD, what has emerged is the old Hindu nationalist party, helped into office by an assortment of regional parties which agree on little nationally except staying in power.

The nuclear bombs were an easy way out for them, although not as easy as they had imagined. As the experienced man in opposition, like Inder Kumar Gujral, the previous prime minister, testified that there was no compelling consideration of national security to justify the nuclear decision, the mood in India may be shifting. But what has



Finely tuned anti-crime drive

I HATE to correct one of my own reports, but his assertion that "Delius railway" had piped Delius into trains in order to calm the passengers was not true.

We introduced Delius on one of the stations of the Tyne and Wear Metro — Shiremoor — where there was a growing problem of youths gathering in order to disperse them (by playing music which those

youths would consider extremely unattractive). After four months of the experiment, incidents of crime at that station have gone down by 26 per cent and we are now extending it — not necessarily using the same composer though — to three other stations shortly. Michael J. Parker, Director general, Nexus, Newcastle upon Tyne.

Slicker cities

I HOPE other local authorities will take their cue from Hammersmith Council's attempt to modernise (Council to get first US-style city boss, May 29). The clear message from the business community is that current arrangements for involving them in local decision-making are seen as bureaucratic and time-consuming, and the division of responsibilities between, and exercise of power by, officers and members is confusing.

The Government is likely, for political rather than practical reasons, to reform the business rate to allow local authorities to charge a supplementary rate on top of the national rate. This makes the need for a new commitment by local councils to give their disenfranchised ratepayers — the business community — a real role in local decision-making a matter of urgency. Simon Sperry, Chief executive, London Chamber of Commerce.

Islam's image

CATHERINE Bennett mentions "Akbar Ahmed, the ubiquitous Islamophobia spotter" for praising the mercy of the Saudi king towards the two British nurses convicted of murder (Burying the truth, May 29). It is unfortunate that, after the death of Kalim Siddiqui, the media thinks Prof Ahmed represents British Muslim thinking. Like Siddiqui, Prof Ahmed represents a reaction against a strand of Islam. Sophisticated Muslims do not see every issue as pro- or anti-Islamic, and believe Muslims today should not revert to the ways of the middle ages.

Whether these nurses were guilty or not and the Saudi judicial system is just or not, it is certain that, had these women been Asian or African, they would by now have met the Almighty. Mohammed Arif, British Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation, London.

Man Who Shot Liberty Valance — on black and white film

UNLIKE Mark Lawson, in his attack on contemporary film-makers who continue to have recourse to monochrome cinematography (The play-it-again scam, May 29), I cannot claim to know how Orson Welles would have shot his films today.

All I know is that he did elect to make Chimes At Midnight in black and white in 1966, when colour was already standard, just as Hitchcock made the black-and-white Psycho in 1960, John Ford the black-and-white Man Who Shot Liberty Valance in 1962, and Billy Wilder the black-and-white Fortune Cookie in 1966. In more recent years, directors such as Fassbinder, Scorsese, Wenders, Jarmusch, Truffaut, Straub, Kantaris, and Wong Kar-Wai have followed suit.

It is ridiculous to insist that an artist conform to whatever happens to be the technological norms of the day as it is to ignore the fact that beautiful black-and-white cinematography is also one of the cinema's most potent aesthetic parameters. Gilbert Adair, London.

Schindler's List, and not especially interesting visually. Ann Hewlett, Stowmarket, Suffolk.

WHAT would we make of a colour version of Toland's Citizen Kane, or Krasker's Third Man, Brief Encounter and Odd Man Out? The latest technology is not always the most appropriate. John Ashwell, Eastleigh, Hants.

PASS NOTES doubts the truth of Burger King's claim that the favourite film of those aged 16 to 25 is Gone With the Wind (G2, May 27). My daughter, aged 14, asked to name her favourite films chose Gone With the Wind and Gentlemen Prefer Blondes. Asked to explain, she cited the glorious technicolour, the glamour, Marilyn Monroe and Vivien Leigh, and the fact that the women in both films wielded great power over men. Kim Shalabuddin, Tilehurst, Berks.

Universal truth

WE agree with Polly Toynbee (Sheep and Goats, May 27) that the Government should urgently address the needs of today's pensioners on lower incomes, but she is being unrealistic in saying that "means-testing has to be where it's at". Fifty years of means-testing since the National Assistance Act have demonstrated the reverse. It is costly and complex to administer and still fails to reach around one in 10 pensioners who are missing out on up to £1.7 billion in unclaimed benefits. The universal pension, far from being allowed to "withstand", should be the foundation of retirement income. Sally Greenegard, Director general, Age Concern, London.

We do not publish letters where only an e-mail address is supplied; please include a full postal address. We may edit letters. The Country Diary is on page 10.

India and Pakistan have joined the ranks of nations challenging Western-imposed rules

Bad boys on the block

Martyn Woolcott

even though non-proliferation is the centrepiece of international security as understood by Washington. Hashimoto resists pressure on Japan to open its economy and spend its way out of recession, even though Washington and international financial institutions see this as a solution to Asia's economic crisis.

Nefanyahu ignores the new American peace proposals even though Washington deems them the only way to achieve a settlement in the Middle East. Abacha, Sadaam, and Milosevic, worse men and more familiar demons, simply go on their destructive way. The list could be extended, with old actors like Gadhafi and Burma's generals, and new ones like Laurent Kabila in the Congo.

Hardly a week goes by without the New York Times or the Washington Post calling for aid to be withdrawn or loans postponed to discipline one regime or another. Children of disobedience these regimes may be, but they do not seem to fear the wrath of

either the United States or of God. The nuclear tests in the subcontinent are only the most spectacular example of a revolt that seems to be spreading against the system. It may soon be quicker to draw up a list of countries not being sanctioned by Washington than a list of those which are.

Now, in India and Pakistan, we have two more "rogue states" to add to the swelling ranks of those that have defied in one degree or another. It is true that there has never been an age when there was full agreement on the way the world should be run, nor an era when complete obedience was the norm, even among client states and satellites. Nor is the present revolt in any sense total. Most countries rebel only against one or two aspects of the system. Like the burglar who wants to be free to steal but also wants clean streets and good schools, countries want to get away with their own particular offence while leaving the general order intact. But the danger is that each

specific "violation", presented as a special case by the perpetrator, erodes what there is of system and creates precedents for further disorder.

This new disorder arises partly because the great conflicts of the second half of the century are over, and the discipline they imposed has dissipated. It arises partly because of democracy, or the deformations of democracy, which produce internal pressures that can outweigh anything coming from the outside. And it arises partly from the faltering will and less-than-clear judgment of the countries that mainly define the world dispensation, particularly the US.

The popularity, the votes and the political impetus that the nuclear decision could provide were, in India, a lollipop waiting for politicians to reach out and take. That has long been true. When ministers were called to an emergency cabinet meeting in 1974, they thought it would be about the national railway strike or the devaluation of the rupee. After Mrs Gandhi

announced that India had exploded a nuclear device, she could not be heard for several minutes because of the enthusiastic thumping of ministers' fists on the table. But the new and more serious decision to test specifically military devices was made at a moment in the country's democratic history when a certain bankruptcy is apparent. Congress is in decline, while a strong alternative party of government has failed to emerge.

INSTEAD, what has emerged is the old Hindu nationalist party, helped into office by an assortment of regional parties which agree on little nationally except staying in power. The nuclear bombs were an easy way out for them, although not as easy as they had imagined. As the experienced man in opposition, like Inder Kumar Gujral, the previous prime minister, testified that there was no compelling consideration of national security to justify the nuclear decision, the mood in India may be shifting. But what has

been done cannot be undone. Meanwhile, in Pakistan, a government which had not tested in response would probably not have survived. The subcontinent has been nuclearised by democratic politicians interested in votes and office, presenting nuclear weaponry as a means of achieving parity, India with China, and Pakistan with India.

Writers like Samuel Huntington have argued that there is a general revolt by non-Western countries which want to acquire weapons of mass destruction in order both to dominate their regions and to deter American or other outside intervention. Mass destruction weapons are their "equaliser" against the West, he says, just as nuclear weapons were the West's equaliser in a conflict where the Soviet Union's conventional forces were thought, probably wrongly, to be greatly superior to those of the US and western Europe. While Huntington's thesis may correctly gauge the motivation of some countries, like

Iraq, it hardly seems applicable to India and Pakistan. Yet a reputation of the Western military order was certainly presented in its decision. Huntington says that the US is operating a counter-proliferation "hold-down policy which in the end is bound to fail". Indian and Pakistani nuclearisation makes that dubious conclusion more likely to be true, particularly if the incipient arms race between the two countries is not capped in some way.

But the more general point is that the subcontinent's more general unhappiness with the present world dispensation. On the economic front, the resentment of Asian countries against the prescriptions coming out of Washington is palpable. It is certainly arguable that American deregulation and the dismantling of barriers to the "free" flow of investment and currency prepared the Asian disaster, which is now compounded by an IMF austerity

programme that bears down almost entirely on Asian countries and hardly at all on Western banks and firms which also bear responsibility for what went wrong.

Suharto in Indonesia resisted the IMF because he knew its programme would destroy him politically, which it did. His successors, if they are to survive, may have to challenge the system much more rigorously, and in any such challenge, they can probably count on massive popular backing. Russia's economic problems could conceivably push it into a similar repudiation of Western remedies and in general must feed an anti-Western nationalism.

It is not a question of unique position in the world, right or wrong on any particular issue. But a global dispensation must convince; it must work for most countries; it must be perceived as relatively just; it must show success; it must be forcefully pursued. That is what is at issue today.

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sound
serva

Mark
Lawson

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Saturday opinion

The return to the drama of the nuclear age concentrates the mind wonderfully

Sound of the interval bell

Mark Lawson

BRITISH children during the first eight decades of this century played happily in the streets and parks, while their parents worried that they would grow up to fight or die in a war or a bomb explosion. More recently, mothers and fathers have given little thought to the fall-up, the black-edged telegram from the front, the farewell hug in the underground shelter or (for the last couple of years) the car bomb, yet were frightened to let their offspring walk to the shops. You might call this shift the balance of terror. Fear had relocated from politics to the personal.

This week — with Pakistan following India into the nuclear age and financial turmoil in Russia — the balance of terror perhaps began to move again. During such international tension, the instinctive, selfish question — except, perhaps, for the highest-minded followers of global politics — is: how frightened should I be? But this is not an improper concern, for it touches fundamentally on the psychology of being a citizen. An age is defined by its fears.

On Wednesday night, I heard what was, in two senses, a conversation in an interval. During the 15 gin-and-tonic minutes at a performance of Michael Tippett's brilliant new play *Copenhagen* — which restages a meeting between two forefathers of nuclear physics, Werner Heisenberg and Niels Bohr — a number of spectators were

nity — and, to modern eyes and ears, pomposity — of the politics and media of the past may be seen as in part a reflection of the current or very recent reasons to be serious: the daily expectation of invasion or death.

Similarly, the frivolity and triviality of much modern discourse — post-modernism, happy-clappy politics — is a product of a decade in which nothing seemed to matter very much; in which — in Middle America or Modern Britain — it was possible to live in a cocoon of wealthy security.

From the 60s to the 80s, memories of the second world war and subsequent cold war paranoia produced terrible consequences in xenophobic politics, a vast and greedy arms industry and a violent and suspicious popular culture. But 10 years of post-cold-war complacency have produced effects which, though not yet equivalent, remain regrettable.

Politics became dominated by the selfishness of voters and the crowd-pleasing theatricality of leaders, these movements combining to create a democracy in which ideas were considered tedious and debate antique. Even wars lost their awfulness: in the absence of the nuclear stand-off between America and Russia, the Gulf War established instead the political correctness of having taken place in some news rooms about the relative weight to give to the Pakistani bomb and the nuclear row between Ginger Spice and her song-sisters.

IN THIS culture of low stakes, the media felt less and less responsibility to cover the world in a serious way. Serious discussion seemed to have taken place in some news rooms about the relative weight to give to the Pakistani bomb and the nuclear row between Ginger Spice and her song-sisters.

It was entirely fitting that the day before the Pakistan tests, it was revealed that Tony Blair had just recorded an appearance on the Des O'Connor chat show (in which he cracked jokes about his mother-in-law and the Queen), while Gordon Brown was working on a television special with Ulrika Jonsson, intended to explain the single European currency to a general audience.

Few would want the return of paranoia and xenophobia in our dealings with the world. But a period of over-reaction to the terrors of the world has been followed by a period of under-reaction. The chill nuclear wind from Islamabad this week might provide a useful corrective to the 10-year-long hot airless summer of western politics and culture.

And what is the proper level of dread with which to regard the deadly weapons of the East? The military theorist Lawrence Freedman has cheekily pointed out that, logically, the west should welcome Pakistan's decision to achieve nuclear equality with India. The nations are merely emulating the balance of terror which — we are invited to believe — kept the peace in the West for 40 years. We ought to believe that there is now no risk of war at all. Yet, oddly, the greatest supporters of the balance-of-terror argument — the western military and weapons industries — seem unlikely to take this line and will push for greater expenditure.

For the citizen, the most likely result will be low-level paranoia — for the weapons are not yet aimed directly at us — and perhaps a revival of environmental concerns. The most beneficial outcome would be a general psychological adjustment: a restored sense of why politics and the rest of the world matter. The old cry of the cold war was: "It's later than you think!" It wasn't. But this week's news alerts us that we may also have misread the clock face, exaggerating the blissful earliness of the hour. The interval is over and it's back to the drama.



Trailer trash

Catherine Bennett

COMING up later in the Guardian — in the Saturday section, we profile Lord Winston. How does he combine his two lives, as fertility expert and globe-trotting television presenter? Looking ahead to the bottom of this page, Matthew Engel — sometimes comical, some-

times poignant, always unpredictable — talks computers, while over, on the magazine, Linda Grant writes movingly about her mother's life.

In this column, in the next few paragraphs we'll be looking at Radio 4 and the state of the Today programme. Has Boyle gone too far with his changes, or are the complainers just a load of barmy old swimmers? Why is Radio 4 punctuated with trailers for itself — "From our Own Correspondent... sometimes poignant, sometimes funny, always relevant..." — most irritatingly, in the case of the Today programme, with trailers for impending items within the same programme: "Coming up in the next half hour, the families of CJD victims... Why so many bees are swarming these days..." Has research shown that Today

listeners restlessly switch off if the news is insufficiently diverting? If so, perhaps it's time to introduce musical interludes to move things along on dull days.

But James Boyle, the Controller of Radio 4, says the trailers are in our heads. Listeners have dreamed these interruptions, just as they have imagined any faults in the schedule he introduced two months ago. His critics, Boyle told one interviewer, are "writing about themselves". On Feedback, a forum for complaints rather than congratulations, letters had been running nine to one against his innovations. One listener complained of a "drilling" — not a drilling — down. "Absolute rubbish," Boyle responded, when this was put to him. Why, only the other day the Today programme had

learnedly discussed Machiavelli. Besides, he said, a recent survey of listeners had shown that 46 per cent "broadly like" his changes.

Certainly, even Feedback listeners have not responded to the new schedule with the *cacophony* that has previously streamed down on unsatisfactory programmes, such as the legendary Anderson Country. This may be because many of Boyle's changes were both careful and extensive, not of a kind to invite instant condemnation or derision. While programmes were moved, rather than dumped. Many of the programmes he trashed, deserved it. None of the many new ones sounded dreadful — or not until you actually heard them.

Now the direction of Boyle's changes is clearer. The price to be paid for popularity is

On Radio 4 whimsy is substituted for reality, and the politicians have become sinisterly silent

irrelevance. Increasingly, whimsy is substituted for reality, conversation replaces argument. Much of this is perfectly enjoyable — you can see why many people "broadly like" — but it is also ominously missable. Looking back, this retreat from topicality was clearly signalled by the

shunting of Yesterday in Parliament and The Week in Westminster to places where many listeners would never pursue them — long wave and Thursday evenings. At the time, only politicians protested, and were naturally accused of pomposity and self-interest.

It was hard, in the beginning, to imagine feeling nostalgic about Call Robin Lustig, or the Moral Maze. Now that they have gone, replaced by the sickly probings of The Choice, and the ineffectual silliness of The Candidate, one recognises that they did, at least, respond to live issues and events, and even, on occasion, influenced public debate. Now, all that is left to the Today programme.

BOYLE'S decision to extend Today sounded high-minded, but has proved to be the reverse, early risers get a mumbing dose of business news; slugs are punished by protracted blithering about wacky arts events, and with woodenly concocted "debates".

Leaving aside the jocular trails and ploys for listener participation, the middle part of the Today programme retains its intelligence. If the programme is flabby, compared with its glory days at the end of the last administration, this is a measure of New Labour's determination not to account for itself. As Norma Desmond said, more or less, Today is big, it's the politicians that got smaller. To be precise, they got invisible. Last week Tony Blair was asked to justify his position on the Arts Council. Instead, he wrote a column to the Sun. No one else would substitute for him. Nor would anyone one from the Government agree to discuss the minimum wage. Nor would Chris Smith come on and explain what on earth is happening at the Arts Council. Instead, he wrote a column for this newspaper, protesting that the "arts are for everyone". Unlike their minister. More bravely, Frank Dobson went on air to explain when a hospital closure is not a hospital closure — but only on condition that he would not face a Tory critic. Robin Cook graciously consented to tell Pakistan and India that they ought to try and get along — but was not nobbled on any domestic issues. As James Naughtie said last week, "The manipulation can be sinister".

In the circumstances, Radio 4's sidelined political coverage is disastrous. When Today was dominated by political jousting, features came as a relief. Now ministers refuse to show up, and the presenters are required to solicit e-mails. It may be Blair's fault, not Boyle's, but the programme is enfeebled. What use is a debate on Machiavelli if you can't expose the real thing?

The demon king of communication is re-writing English with his secret weapon

Squiggles

Matthew Engel

SO WHO is the real demon king? Is it Bill Gates or Rupert Murdoch? The squiggle provides the vital clue.

Journalists are always inclined to plump for Murdoch. His staff have to attend places like Wapping, which has the atmosphere of a medium-security prison without the consolation provided by a steady supply of drugs. His papers and TV channels are at worst soft pornographic, at best soulless and mechanical. He holds governments in thrall.

Gates, in comparison, seems inoffensive. The Clinton Administration has dared to take him on. And a joker in Belgium actually landed a custard pie on him. It is impossible to imagine this happening to Murdoch. In certain crucial respects, however, Gates has reached areas Rupert never has. This column is in his thrall too.

I will explain (aware as I do so that "My New Computer" is undoubtedly the third Most Boring Subject for a newspaper column, behind only "The Day The Builders Came", along with "What Happened at Sainsbury's"). For it is only when you get a new computer that you begin

to understand the power that lurks behind Gates's innocent features: power of which the most himself is perhaps only dimly aware, and covering areas that cannot interest him.

Scott McNealy, the head of Sun Microsystems, told a US Senate hearing in March that Microsoft is trying to control "the written and spoken language of the digital age". He said: "The only thing that I'd rather own than Windows is English, because then I could charge you \$249 for the right to speak it, and I could charge you an upgrade fee when I said new letters."

But, in a subtle and unexpected way, the man who controls the software IS starting to control English. When you buy a new PC these days, it comes with vast numbers of in-built features, provided by the Gates company, Microsoft. There is, for instance, the card game Free Cell, a clever and addictive version of patience that has become a secret cult. In any office, on any train or plane, a large number of the earnest-looking people staring at screens are in fact playing this game rather than working. I suspect it is causing more lost man-hours than flu.

But more significant is Word 97, the latest word-processing system, or what was the latest word-processing system a few weeks ago, which includes among its many gadgets a spelling and grammar check that operates by underlining words it dislikes with a squiggle.

Now, as any techie can tell you, this is not compulsory. You can switch the check off. Few people do: it is very useful. If you are in the habit of typing the word "almost" every time you want to say "almost", it is extremely helpful to have a

machine that warns you. If you want, it will change the word automatically. This can cause terrible trouble if you have to write to that nice couple you met on holiday. Grogg and Zepa Almost, none of whose names the computer will recognise.

I edit Wisden Cricketers' Almanack, which has been spelt that way since 1884. Not according to Word 97. Someone in Gates's office has decided almanac is correct. The book is regularly mentioned in newspapers: half the time now it is spelt the Gates way rather than ours. Theoretically, the machine is programmed to reject Americanisms: in the UK version, color and lobby get the squiggle, not colour and labour.

Theoretically, you can cus-

It was lucky William Faulkner never wrote on a word processor

tomise it to your heart's content. But it works insistently, accepting some names, rejecting others. Gates is OK, but Murdoch is not. (Funny, that.) Naturally, his Silicon Valley essey McNealy gets the squiggle. Blair and even Hague are OK. Ashdown isn't. Paisley is in; Clinton isn't. Kate Moss, yes; Claudia Schiffer, no. Sainsbury's is out, but at least Tesco keeps its company.

All right. You can simply ignore the computer or re-fetile it. But there is a more subtle problem. No, sizeable. I was always taught that where there

are two alternative ways of spelling, it's better to use the shorter version: you can save space. But when a computer is instructing you to use the longer version, you have to be very strong-minded to stand up to it. At the very least, it should be a matter of judgement. Judgement, actually. An anonymous spelling Nazi at Microsoft has decided. And his or her influence is immense.

Gates's is also out. Only the newfangled usage — Gates — passes muster. The computer also checks grammar. Very kind of it. But not everything in grammar constitutes an iron rule. I like semi-colons; the Nazi doesn't. He doesn't even think "semi-colons" should be hyphenated.

He has from rules for sentence construction. Short sentences without verbs, the sort favoured by A.P.J. Taylor or Lord Denning, are out. Long sentences are even worse. It was lucky William Faulkner never wrote on a word processor. The second sentence of The Day After Tomorrow gets a squiggle for being too long before it reaches the halfway point.

I used to have confidence in my own wordsmithery, whether or not anyone else did. Now I have an anonymous inspector, instructing me from the screen. It is unsettling, and Rupert Murdoch has never reached this far into my brain.

THE SPELL-CHECK is now off-duty. This week's list comprises potatoes from the 1996 seed catalogues. They always sound to me like the runners in a five-furlong handicap at Kempton Park. Belle de Fontenay, Linzer Delikatess, Marfona, Dmduce, Marie Bard, Maris Piper, Penland Javelin, Arran Consul, Edzell Blue and Ballydoon.

The middle-aged were confident that Armageddon was coming

making complaints along the lines of: "Bit late for a Bomb play. Would have made more impact in the 80s." Twenty-four hours later, these half-time remarks were contradicted. We were back in the theatre of war. The second half of the nuclear age was beginning. The old-aged and middle-aged in Britain are psychologically marked by the international anxieties of their childhood. The former dreaded for at least five years dying as soldiers or living as Germans. The latter were grimly confident that Armageddon would come through nuclear war.

FOR a while after Berlin united, the fear of environmental self-destruction seemed likely to replace the Bomb, but ozone never captured the imagination in the way that plutonium had. In the past 10 years, ecological panic has shaded into pre-millennial tension, but these insecurities, at least in Britain and America, have generally been domestic rather than international: the safety of jobs. The certainty of extermination has been replaced by an assumption of healthy long life.

Many writers have suggested that the cold war period resulted in a general psychological condition of paranoia, especially in America. That theory can now be updated to advance the view that the absence of a specific threat in the past 10 years has resulted in a prevailing malady of complacency and self-obsession. In retrospect, the solemn-

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10 OBITUARIES

Barry Goldwater

Loser who won at last

THE paradox of the long political career of Senator Barry Goldwater, who has died aged 89, was that, having suffered one of the most humiliating defeats in US history, he probably did more than anyone to ensure that Republicans controlled the White House for most of the following 28 years.

When, two years after taking office in 1952, President Clinton faced the first Republican-controlled Congress in 40 years, it completed a process the senator from Arizona had started nearly three decades earlier. Goldwater's lasting achievement was to transform the Republicans from a party controlled by a wealthy Eastern liberal establishment into a radical conservative movement which spread its geographical appeal more widely and its political message more deeply into America's social structure.

He was a more complex character than his impetuous often wild, political comments conveyed. He came from an American political tradition which has no precise parallel in Europe, the rigidly constitutional maverick with a Jeffersonian belief that the least government is the best government.

In his final years, he outaged his traditional constituency by campaigning strongly for homosexual rights, arguing there was no constitutional basis to discriminate against citizens doing no harm to anyone else. He also became a fierce critic of the encroachment of fundamentalist Christianity into politics. "If they make a religious organisation out of the Republican Party," he said, "you can kiss politics goodbye."

Barry Morris Goldwater was born into a family which fled Tsarist oppression in Poland in the early years of the 19th century. His ancestors were Jews called Goldwasser who anglicised their name and adopted Christianity. They opened a saloon bar for California gold rush miners, but soon realised they could make far greater profits by exporting it to the hinterland. When the gold rush collapsed they opened a general store in Arizona.

The area was still only a territory when Goldwater was born, and his uncle was a leading member of the constitutional convention that preceded statehood in 1910.

Arizona's initial application for statehood was rejected by the US Senate, because its constitution allowed judges to be sacked by popular vote. Only when this had been removed was statehood granted. Within days of its admission, Arizona passed a constitutional amendment which reinstituted the offending clause — and obstinately reaffirmed the American Founding Fathers' belief that each state had the

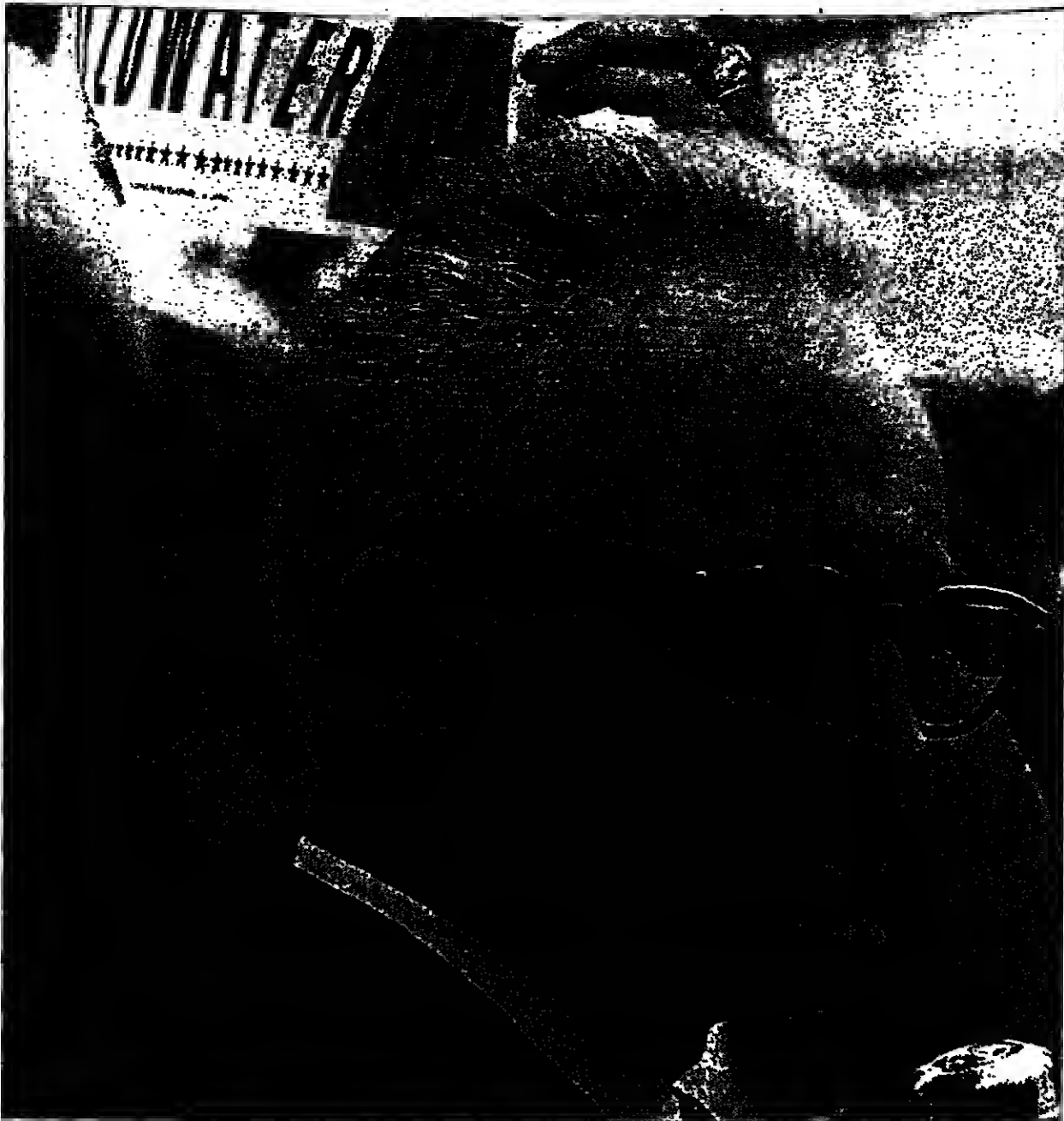
right to determine its own governance.

After doing poorly at the local high school in Phoenix, young Barry was sent to the Staunton Military Academy in Virginia, giving him a lifelong absorption in military affairs (his only major legislative achievement was the creation of a unified Defence Department). He graduated as the outstanding cadet of his year and seemed destined for a military career until his father's sudden death in 1929 obliged him to take his place in the family firm.

This was at the start of the Depression and Goldwater's experiences over this period had a profound influence on his later political beliefs. He argued that the company had only survived through rigid financial discipline.

"We cut the inventory, skimped on advertising, switched off lights to save electricity, and reduced deliveries. Everyone in the store took a cut in pay, including me, and we didn't fire anybody. We never sued anyone to collect an overdue bill and we never missed a payroll." This was translated into his recipe for a national economic policy. "When individuals or companies go broke," he said, "creditors seize available assets, liquidate them, and then take their loss. Governments don't go broke, they just print money."

Less well known was his enlightened record as an employer. Before the second world war, and well before it was common commercial currency, he introduced health insurance for his employees, brought in a profit-sharing



Barry Goldwater... tough forerunner of a new generation of middle and working class conservative activists

scheme, Goldwater decided to campaign for the seat held by the Democratic majority leader in the US Senate, Ernest McFarland, one of the most influential politicians in the country. It seemed a quixotic venture but, by attacking high taxation, waste, and corruption in the Federal government, he unseated his opponent by 7,000 votes.

In Washington he was soon involved in controversy, emerging as a strong sup-

porter of Senator Joseph McCarthy's virulent campaign against Communists. Goldwater was one of the few number who voted against the Senate censure which led to McCarthy's downfall. He also became increasingly critical of the Eisenhower administration, opposing with increasing venom its record of deficit spending.

His disillusionment with the Eisenhower administration was crystallised at the 1960 convention in Chicago. The obvious front runner as Republican presidential candidate was Eisenhower's vice president, Richard Nixon. The only contentious issue he would fight and whom he

would pick as his running mate.

Both erupted when Nixon did a deal with Governor Nelson Rockefeller, a liberal politician who embodied everything the party's right-wing detested most. Opposition to Nixon began to coalesce around Goldwater and there were moves to nominate him as the alternative candidate. Though they petered out, they established him as the standard bearer of the party's conservative wing. When Nixon, who had been seen in the region since a Republican president decided to fight the secessionist states in 1961.

In narrower party terms, he had sparked off a new generation of activists who repudiated most of the things represented by the New Deal and Johnson's Great Society, began to spread the gospel of military preparedness, small government, lower taxation, and self-reliance.

Just as the election campaign had given the party a strong foothold in the previously Democratic fastnesses of the south and west, so the new radicalism pulled in disgruntled social groups who felt the Roosevelt welfare state had been built at their expense. The Republicans changed from being the party of the privileged to the party of the put-upon — Nixon's famous silent minority.

When Nixon gained the White House in 1968 by a narrow margin over Hubert Humphrey, Goldwater was re-elected to the Senate seat he had vacated during his presidential run. That election showed voters responding more widely to the new-style Republicans. The party gained 16 seats in the Senate and 17 in the House of Representa-

tives, and achieved more state governorships than in the previous 48 years.

During the Watergate scandal of 1973, Goldwater was one of the trusted party elders sent to tell Nixon he must go. That crisis temporarily distorted the wider picture, which showed that the post-Goldwater Republican party only lost its hold on the White House for eight years between 1969 and 1996.

And in both 1976 and 1992 it had been touch and go for the Democrats. Jimmy Carter scraped home in the aftermath of Watergate and President Clinton won by only five per cent of the popular vote, with a third party candidate taking 13 per cent of what might otherwise have been Republican ballots. Over the same period the Republicans first gained control of the Senate and then of Congress.

Goldwater, whose health had begun to deteriorate, retired from the Senate in 1987. His wife Peggy died shortly afterwards, after 52 years of marriage and four children. In 1991 he married a nurse, 30 years his junior, who had been attending him.

Though he was an instinctive rather than a cerebral politician, he was in with great perception on Americans' widespread disillusionment with what their government had been able to deliver. His message, like that of many who came after him, was often simplistic, at times controversial. But he shifted his country's politics at least as much as Roosevelt had done in an earlier generation.

Barry Morris Goldwater, politician, born January 1, 1909; died May 28, 1998

Face to Faith

Sound of the spirit speaking in tongues

Martin Percy

PENTECOST marks the coming of the Holy Spirit. A frightened group of bereft disciples are suddenly empowered by the spirit, and the Church is born. Luke, the writer of the book of Acts, begins his work by describing the spirit settling on disciples like tongues of fire. The disciples become apostles, sealed by the spirit.

The account in the book of Acts need not be read literally. In the Old Testament, the story of the Tower of Babel tells how all nations once spoke with one voice. But then people got ideas above their station and decided to build a tower to heaven to get to God's level. God, who liked his privacy and primacy, sowed dissension among the builders by inventing new languages that hampered the construction. Babel became Babel, from which we derive the word babble. But for the last time, an ambitious building project was scuppered through poor communication.

The account in Acts is probably an attempt to redeem this fable. The message is this. In the church — a construction of the spirit — all languages are recognised and spoken.

The spirit is universal, not local: the gospel is for all people. So, the first act of the spirit is to reverse the tragedy of Babel: God now speaks to everyone, and the church becomes a global *lingua*. The language is that of the spirit. It is important not to take the account in Acts too literally. When early Pentecostal missionaries thought they had received the gift of tongues, they often assumed they were beginning to speak a new language that would enable them to preach the gospel all over the globe. At the end of the century, sober scholarship and reflection has drawn back from this.

On the matter of complete languages being spoken by people who have never learned them, Pentecostal scholars agree that there is no hard evidence of anyone miraculously receiving Arabic, French or Spanish directly from the spirit. Academics in the field of consciousness studies also point out that you could not confidently speak a

language you had never learned. How would you know you were saying "Jesus is Lord" instead of "Haddock and chips, please"?

I don't mean to mock. The more common tradition of speaking in tongues is that which Paul describes as "signs and wonders" and psychologists agree that whatever these tongues are, they do not add up to a language. It is more like an ecstatic utterance, a kind of "sound salad" full of feeling and meaning, but with no vocabulary, grammar or anything else that could enable it to be translated. It is the articulation of the unutterable.

A teacher of mine who specialised in primal religion and spoke the language of the people he studied would sometimes spend his sabbaticals visiting churches. When the time came to prophesy, he would often chip in and speak one of the languages he knew so well. Congregations were invariably impressed, and without fail his words were usually interpreted by someone "led by the spirit" — as a prophecy for the church, or a word of encouragement. But what he was actually repeating was a recipe for a type of corn porridge made with goat stock.

In spite of these reservations, I still think there is a place for tongues. When young, I tended to dabble in the babble, and can testify to the cathartic effect of speaking in tongues. It can also be therapeutic, allowing regression to a child-like humbleness. Although authentic, it is not intelligible communication.

Like a conversion experience, acquiring the gift can be a rite of passage, and it still has its place in prayer and meditation. But whatever the gift is, I am clear that it is not a language. It is a *different* order of experience.

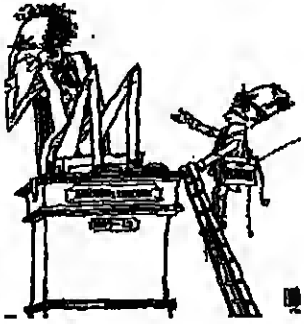
The phenomenon points forward to an age when words will no longer be enough to express praise of God, where a non-ordered (not disordered), composed, yet innovative sound can truly express the heart. In this sense, speaking in tongues is actually the estranged step-child of liberal theology. If connected with the romantic roots of liberalism, and puts experience back into the centre of religion, displacing dry dogma.

It can also set the soul alight, so that the tongues themselves become mystical vehicles that produce harmony, unity and creativity, as individuals melt into the warmth of the spirit and the blaze of an age to come.

Tongues of fire, flickering in the Babel of modernity, making sounds of significance in a world where mere words are losing their power.

Dr Martin Percy is director of Lincoln Theological Institute, Sheffield University, which is hosting a conference today on Christian Fundamentalism

Branded a fascist, racist, warmonger, nuclear madman, a candidate who couldn't win — and that was by his own party members



scheme, and was the first Arizona shopkeeper to hire black sales staff.

He had learned to fly in his spare time, but had been rejected by the air force because of poor sight. When the war came to America in 1941 he was assigned to ferrying new aircraft across the Atlantic and eventually became a major-general in the Air Force Reserve. By the time ill-health and age grounded him, he had flown 158 different types of aircraft.

His interest in politics developed when he returned to civilian life, beginning with his election to the Phoenix City Council shortly after the war. In 1952, the year that Eisenhower ran for the presi-

dent, he was one of the few number who voted against the Senate censure which led to McCarthy's downfall. He also became increasingly critical of the Eisenhower administration, opposing with increasing venom its record of deficit spending.

His disillusionment with the Eisenhower administration was crystallised at the 1960 convention in Chicago. The obvious front runner as Republican presidential candidate was Eisenhower's vice president, Richard Nixon. The only contentious issue he would fight and whom he

Weekend Birthdays



If only Terry Waite, 59 tomorrow, had been operating in an age of religious legend, say the 17th century, when no film clips and sound-bites, full of contradictions, were filed in the vaults; where only an outline of his life's actions, with few fleshy details, had survived. He makes a great figure for a woodcut illustration: giant-tall and wide, a Grenadier Guard until they discovered that his painful allergies were caused by the khaki dye of his uniform; then a sergeant-major in the Church Army man, big at dodgy times in troubled places in Africa, amiable knowledge around the Islamic shores of the Med (he once, while negotiating a hostage release in a Libyan tent, gave Colonel Gaddafi a Christmas present of a book about Aristotle and the Arabs). His Beirut captivity seems like an engraving in a devotional work, chained to that radiator, revisiting in his soul evensong in the corrugated-iron-chapel of his country childhood ("Lord

now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace") until the day his captors opened a window and he heard a bird sing. Pure John Bunyan.

Today's birthdays: Ray Cooney, actor, author, producer, 66; Harry Enfield, writer, actor and comedian, 37; Andrew Farrell, rugby league player, 33; Christopher Haskins, chairman, Northern Foods, 61; Richard Hannon, racehorse trainer, 53; Tim Llewellyn, director, Henry Moore Foundation, 51; Richard Mather, architect, 61; Colin Myler, editor, Sunday Mirror, 65; Lord Richard QC, Leader of the Lords, 66; Bruce Roberts, cricketer, 62; Helen Sharman, chemist and Britain's first astronaut, 35; Agnes Varda, film writer and director, 70; Tim Waterstone, bookseller, 58; Philip Whitehead, chairman, Consumers' Association, 61; Bob Willis, cricketer, 49.

Tomorrow's other birthdays: Bob Blizzard, Labour MP, 48; Sir John Daniel, vice-chancellor, Open University, 56; Judge Linda Davies, 53; Andrea de Cesaris, racing driver, 38; Ben de List, fashion designer, 43; Clint Eastwood, actor, 68; Andrew Grima, journalist, 77; Diane Langton, actress, singer, 55; David Maroon, violinist, former chairman, the LPO, 54; Debbie Moore, founder, Pineapple Dance Studios, 52; Mary O'Rourke, deputy leader, Fianna Fail, 61; John Prescott MP, deputy prime minister, 60; Prince Rainier III of Monaco, 75; Brooks Shields, actress, 28; Peter Winterbottom, England rugby international, 38.

Death Notices

SARLE, Alice, of Oakley, Hants, died on 27th May 1998, aged 92. She was the widow of George and Kate (née Shaw) of Oakley, Hants. Buried in St. Michael's Church, Basingstoke. D1255 64462.

LELLY, Professor Malcolm Douglas, FRSE, FRGS, aged 61, died of heart failure on 27th May 1998, aged 61. He was the husband of Margaret and had three children. Buried in St. Michael's Church, Basingstoke. D1255 64462.

WATKINS, Harry Theodore FRSA, FRGS, FRGS, aged 84, died on 27th May 1998, aged 84. He was the husband of Betty and had three children. Buried in St. Michael's Church, Basingstoke. D1255 64462.

Births

HARDISTY, On May 10th, in Portland, Oregon, to Rachel (née Constan) and David, a daughter, Emily Ann, the daughter of her brother John.

Marriages

CARTWRIGHT, Anne (née Purshouse) and Andrew Cartwright are delighted to announce their wedding on 27th May 1998 at St. Helen's Church, Warrington. The bride is the daughter of Mr and Mrs John Cartwright and the groom is the son of Mr and Mrs John Cartwright. The wedding will be held at 2.30pm. Reception at the Grosvenor Hotel, Warrington. For more information, please contact the bride at 01928 512121.

Letter

KAY writes: The Marxism of Peter Breary (obituary, May 28) was not party-line, but derived from reading Marx and Engels, something the vulgar critics of Marxism neglect to do.

It is therefore not surprising that Peter's Marxism leaned towards anarchism. The classical Marxists were totally opposed to the state. Their quarrel with the anarchists was about timing. "The withering away of the state" would occur during a transition period which Marx unwisely called "the dictatorship of the proletariat." Stalinists perverted this into the dictatorship of the party. Peter Breary relieved in the "withering away."

He was an old-fashioned rationalist and radical. He detested modern politics and despised Blairite froth, spin-doctoring and cloned MPs and betrayal of principles. I share Peter's doubts about the milk-and-water term "humanism." He and I called ourselves atheists.

A Country Diary

MACHYNLETH: In a steeply tilted oakwood not far from here, as May turns to June, a rare orchid shyly appears. A mere half-dozen spikes are its usual annual output, with a few other plants producing leaves only, a promise for the following year.

But in good seasons, as this year, there may be a score of so of blooms. This treasure, which I have always called the sword-leaved helleborine but which now seems to be more often known as the narrow-leaved helleborine, is of great beauty when freshly opened, but is so sadly evanescent that its pure white petals are turning brown in only two or three days.

What makes the helleborine so rare I have no means of telling, but I can say that besides its normal range of between about six and 20 blooms per year it can at rare intervals produce a real outburst. One year I found it flowering abundantly on the roadside at the bottom of the

wood, where it had also spilled over on to the railway bank below, a beautiful and astonishing sight I don't expect ever to see again.

It reminded me of another rare, the Tiberian orchid in the Wye valley, a similarly shy woodlander which has sporadic outbursts of abundance, catching the eye of passing motorists by its crowds of bright yellow flowers.

I do not propose to give guidance to the location of our rare helleborine. I am fully aware that there is no shortage of vandals happy to dig up rare plants just for the hell of it, if for no other reason. Now that we have reached the unbelievable moment in our glorious history when even the common bluebell has joined the list of endangered species, what guarantee is there that some of our much rarer plants will not go the way of the lady's slipper orchid in the north of England?

WILLIAM CONDRY

CORRECTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS

KAY, the Tesco stacker, whose story was told on Page 4, G2, May 28, works in the store three evenings a week from 7 to 11 — not from 7pm to 11am.

IN OUR description of the Toyota MR2 involved in a crash, Page 4, May 28, we said it ended as "a soft by the curb". A cube (Oxford English Dictionary) is "a solid contained by six equal squares". We also said that

the driver who escaped from the wreck was taken to Queen Alexandra hospital in Portsmouth. The correct name of the hospital is Queen Alexandra.

IN OUR television review, G2 Page 19, May 28, we made several erroneous references to the presenter of the BBC1 series, *The Human Body*, as Professor Robert Wilson. He is Professor Robert Winston, or Professor Lord Winston, a

profile of whom appears in our Saturday section today.

It is the policy of the *Guardian* to correct errors as soon as possible. Readers may contact the office of the Readers' Editor by telephoning 0171 239 9589 between 11am and 5pm, Monday to Friday. Surface mail to: *The Guardian*, 119, Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER. Fax: 0171 239 9897. E-mail: reader@guardian.co.uk

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Turmoil in Asia and Russia

Too late to re-bottle globalisation genie



Alex Brummer

THE new world order trumpeted by George Bush at the start of the 1990s — as global capitalism and the forces of democracy marched on triumphantly — is looking extremely fragile.

hard way that international capitalism's agenda is not always friendly to crony economics. Japan, which in the post-war era has been held up as the model for a manufacturing economy, now shows signs of coming apart at the seams. On the subcontinent, India and Pakistan seem more concerned about displays of economic virility than attending to their people's economic well-being. The first cracks in the Hong Kong economy in more than 10 years will set off the sirens in Beijing.

gurus such as Lester Thurow and Robert Reich demanded. The very action demanded by western stock markets — that banks protect themselves from 1982 Latin American-style losses — deepens the crisis in the emerging markets as the banks act to protect their shareholders' interests.

that it spreads far beyond. The other serious difficulty is that unfettered capitalism throws up inequalities. While most were still glorifying in the Asian model, a World Bank report, *Evening the Miracle*, revisiting poverty and inequality in the East, found that although overall poverty had decreased, inequalities, along

with household insecurity, had increased. In the wake of the events since last summer, those problems have worsened, with the result that the World Bank has moved into the region to deal with the social consequences of the crisis.

isation and cultural shifts for a way forward from the centrist world of Bill Clinton and Tony Blair. The authors have little time for the bland solutions of the Group of Seven or Eight communiqués. In many ways, they are right. Japan and Russia, sig-

Japanese banking system is overwhelmed by bad debts. Russia, the newest member of the G8, is struggling with a government of political neophytes, a civil administration unable to collect revenues or deliver social security, and a capitalist structure built on the wing and prayer of western investment bankers. Even the healthier G8 members are starting to feel draughts from the emerging markets. Insecurity and globalisation has consequences even for the fittest.

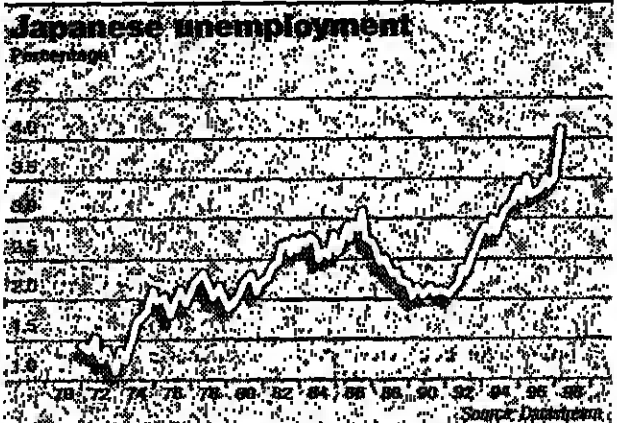
through the World Trade Organisation, Nafta and other deals, the genie cannot be put back. Better that capital markets are more rigorously supervised than that trade is closed down. Sometimes, however, the authors' rhetoric exceeds the reality. The World Bank has made mistakes, but it is now driving the agenda for sorting out debt in Africa, social dissonance in Asia and the Russian energy sector. All relevant to the fears of global economic meltdown. The aggressive reinforcement and modernisation of international institutions and greater co-ordination of policies is what is required. Unsettling, perhaps, but the alternative is a millennium greeted with recession.

The first cracks in the Hong Kong economy in more than 10 years will set off the sirens in Beijing

Second wave of crisis breaks in Hong Kong

Mark Milner in London and Jonathan Watts in Tokyo

A FRESH wave of Asian contagion is threatening financial markets amid mounting evidence of the region's deepening economic crisis and political tensions sparked by the nuclear stand-off between India and Pakistan.

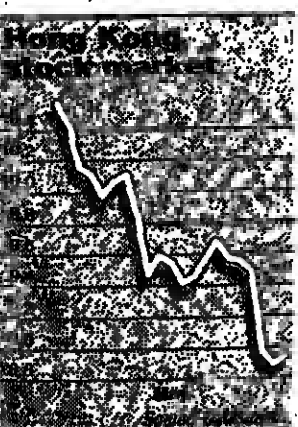


at the moment," said Paul McNamara, emerging markets strategist at London's Julius Baer Investments. "This could be the beginning of another wave of concern over emerging markets generally."

yesterday published figures showing that unemployment had reached 4.1 per cent last month, with a record 2.9 million out of work.

closer to recession. During the last two weeks big Japanese manufacturers, such as Nissan, Hitachi, Fujitsu and NEC, have also posted declines in annual profits, prompting fears of fresh layoffs in a country that prides itself on its low jobless rate.

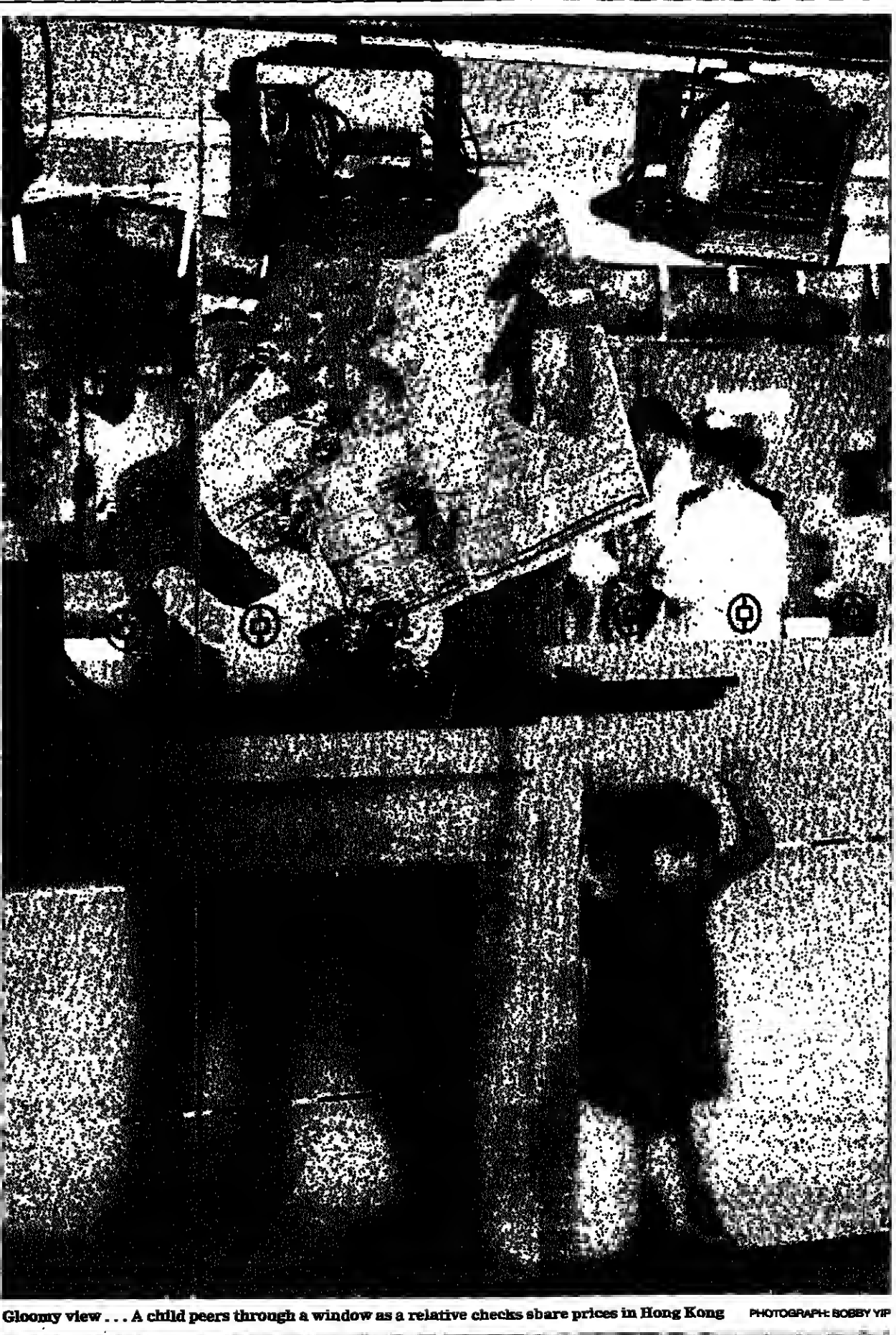
However, some analysts have warned that pump-priming measures may come too late to prevent Japan from entering a deflationary spiral in which consumer demand and prices fall, pushing down profitability and driving up the jobless rate.



over the last six months is the most traumatic since world war two," he said. The government was quick to announce measures aimed at steadying the property market, boosting liquidity and aiding the tourist industry. Some, however, argued it was too little, too late.



On the plus side, the International Monetary Fund is preparing to release a \$970 million loan package. However, that will do little to ease Russia's troubles. "Even if the rouble survives the latest round of pressures, the country's reliance on primary exports and its dependence on foreign funding of its budget imbalance will make it highly vulnerable to external shocks for the foreseeable future," according to Liza Kekic, the director for transitional economies at the Economist Intelligence Unit.



Gloomy view... A child peers through a window as a relative checks share prices in Hong Kong. PHOTOGRAPH: BOBBY YIP

Barings chief quits in dispute

Julie Treanor, Banking Correspondent

INVESTMENT bank ING Barings was in upheaval last night when its recently installed chief executive resigned after a power struggle with the Dutch parent company. The abrupt departure of Arjan Mathrani after five months led to speculation that control of the bank was moving from London to the Continent.

the ING group on certain management issues, including the organisation of our activities in Europe." ING denied that his departure was linked to speculation about a tie-up with Credit Suisse. But it is understood that difficulties surfaced after ING management in Amsterdam decided to set up a western European investment operation to be known as ING Barings Western Europe.

Unigate walks out on Hillsdown deal

Tony May

UNIGATE unexpectedly walked away from making an agreed £1.6 billion bid for Hillsdown at the eleventh hour yesterday. Britain's second largest milk processor triggered a furious row by questioning Hillsdown's trading strength, saying: "We are unable to support their view of their prospects."

deteriorated at the conglomerate — which includes furniture, housebuilding, Buxted chickens, Chivers jams and Typhoo tea — sent Hillsdown's shares plunging 10.5 per cent. They fell 53p to 188p — compared with the proposed bid price of 217p.

Hillsdown's advisers denied that there was anything wrong with the group's prospects. They said their team had been prepared to agree the deal but claimed Unigate's approach had been "shambolic" and blamed the collapse of the talks on a last-minute failure of nerve.

He added that if Unigate thought it could cherry-pick the Hillsdown assets when the group demerges in October, it would be forced to think again. Unigate would be last to receive the memorandum of sale, he suggested.

Soros stakes £100m in property firm

THE billionaire philanthropist and feared speculator, George Soros, yesterday agreed to pump an initial £100 million into a property venture with former partner John Ritblat and son, James, writes Lisa Buckingham.

Mr Soros, best known for speculating against the pound in 1992 when the UK was forced out of the Euro-

pean exchange rate mechanism, is taking a substantial stake in the small property company Delancey Estates, one third owned by Mr Ritblat.

As part of the deal, Delancey will buy Freehold Portfolio Estates, a tiny property business run by James.

Ritblat senior, chairman of British Land, who is regarded as one of the shrewdest players in the UK property business.

Unusually for Mr Soros, the Delancey investment involves a substantial exposure to domestic property in London and the South East. That has prompted suggestions that fears of a downturn in house prices might have been overriding.

News in brief

Trade deficit is widening

Britain's trade gap with the rest of the world narrowed in March but remains on a widening trend, according to official figures published yesterday. The shortfall between exports and imports was £1.6 billion, down from £2.1 billion in February, due entirely to a reduction in the deficit with non-European Union countries. Half of the change reflected a bigger surplus on oil exports and an erratic £200 million bounce in aircraft sales.

Viagra rival rises

Shares of Icos, a biotechnology company less than 10 years old, rose as much as 51 per cent on enthusiasm about its impotence drug, which may have fewer side effects than Pfizer's Viagra pill. In frantic trading, shares in the company hit a record high, valuing the company at almost \$1 billion.

Weinstock takes stock

Lord Weinstock, the former chairman of GEC, has bought a 29.9 per cent stake in Mallett, the fine-furniture auc-

Longhurst's new chair

Andrew Longhurst — who walked away with a £2 million options gain four years after Cheltenham & Gloucester, the building society he used to lead, was acquired by Lloyds TSB — will become chairman of United Assurance next week.

Read the latest European news without using a phrasebook

Guardian

The World Cup gives the unions their chance to put the boot in. **Jon Henley** reports from Paris

French strike at open goal

THERE may already be a winner in this year's World Cup. France's trade unions, queuing up to turn the biggest football festival yet into a French farce of equally large proportions, they already have the Socialist-led government over a barrel.

Ten days from kick-off, airline pilots, ground staff, cabin crews, train drivers, conductors, builders, department store workers and even police are threatening to spoil the party. If they all go ahead, the havoc could be horrendous.

Two out of three trains could be cancelled. Nine out of 10 internal and short-haul flights may be grounded. Vast tailbacks could clog the country's roads as hundreds of thousands of ticketholders moving between the 10 host cities join French commuters taking to their cars to beat the rail strike.

Take the four days between June 22 and June 26, towards the end of the first round. During that period, thousands of England supporters could be stuck in Toulouse, in the far south-west, trying to get to Lens, 600 miles north, to watch Glenn Hoddle's men play Cameroon.

The German fans could be stranded in Lens trying to get to Montpellier, the Dutch may be in Marseilles with tickets for a game in Saint-Etienne,

and the Brazilians in Nantes with a 700-mile journey ahead of them to Marseilles.

In towns and villages around the country, tired, angry rival fans could be assembling in front of the huge open-air screens which many municipalities are erecting, drowning their sorrows in cheap red wine on a hot summer afternoon. It would not take much for the trouble to start — and the police, if their union is to be believed, may be working to rule.

It is unlikely, of course, to come to that. The French government, usually reluctant to intervene in labour disputes, will not risk allowing derailment of the biggest, most prestigious and most widely watched sporting event the country has hosted.

Pressure will be brought to bear on the state-owned railway company, SNCF, and airline, Air France, and deals will be done. But the unions know it.

"No French trade unionist worth his salt was ever likely to pass up such a heaven-sent occasion as a World Cup without at least considering the idea of exploiting it," said Hervé Jaubert, a labour relations analyst at the University of Lille. "It's clear to all that the leverage possibilities it presents are enormous."

The 10-venue format of the tournament means fans with tickets for more than one match will have to travel con-

siderable distances, making it particularly vulnerable to transport disruption. Publicity for any action is almost guaranteed: 12,000 journalists are covering the competition, which is forecast to draw a cumulative worldwide television audience of 37 trillion.

For a government keen to show that France works, the stakes are equally high. The eyes of the world will be on it. The government has ploughed Fr9.4 billion (£1 billion) into France '98, including Fr2.2 billion to build the 38,000-seat Stade de France outside Paris.

For some, the World Cup may be too big a target to dare take on. Truckers from Force Ouvrière indicated as much this week when they lifted some 17 roadblocks around the country after a one-day stoppage, and said they would not be imposing them again before September.

Although wage talks between unions and haulage firms had broken down, the truckers' leader, Roger Poletti, said: "Obviously, blockading cities during the Cup would not be very well received by the public. We know we would lose a lot of the backing we have."

Mr Poletti was concerned, too, that a concerted campaign by truckers could provoke a violent response. Police last week fired at the tyres of funfair operators who

had mounted roadblocks around Paris in protest at a town hall decision to move them to the suburbs.

"The reaction to the funfair protest was a strong and solemn warning," Mr Poletti said. "I got the very definite message that not everything would be tolerated."

Such thoughts do not seem to be troubling other unions. The main Air France pilots' union, SNPL, is "absolutely determined" to call a strike from June 1 until three days

after kick-off day, and continue it as long as necessary.

The airline has said already it will cancel between 75 and 90 per cent of short- and long-haul flights over the first four days of next week, when several smaller unions have called sympathy strikes.

"Let's stop wasting time and prepare for action," the union leader, Jean-Charles Corbet, said after the breakdown of talks with management on Friday.

The pilots want the carrier, which this week announced a profit after years of heavy losses, to scrap plans to cut pilots' salaries and introduce a two-tier pay scale that cuts wages for new pilots.

Air France insists it has to share Fr100 million from its annual wage bill in the run-up to a partial flotation later this year. It has offered pilots shares in exchange for a 15 per cent pay cut, which they say is unacceptable.

Further clouding the World Cup skies, the Sud Aéro union, which represents ground crew workers at Orly airport, where most French domestic flights originate, this week urged all airport staff to walk off the job for an indefinite period from yesterday.

As the official World Cup airline, Air France has said it will at least ensure that planes chartered for the 32 participating teams arrive on time for their matches — but a pilots' strike would wreak havoc with fans' travel plans.



Whistle blowers... Paris transport workers sound their protest during a 1996 strike and may be up for the Cup

A train strike could do even more harm. SNCF has touted itself as the ideal solution to fans' travel needs, laying on an extra 138 trains and selling some 200,000 tickets to tour groups plus an unknown number to individuals.

A large independent rail union, FGAAC, this week gave formal notice of a 24-hour strike to be called depot by depot any time from June 10 — the day Scotland are due to play Brazil in the tournament's opening match.

The FGAAC wants early talks on an increase in wages, the hiring of "several thousand" new workers and the introduction of a 35-hour working week, and is already getting support: the militant Sud-Rail trade union on Tuesday called on its SNCF members to stop work indefinitely from June 7.

The Communist-led CGT is also making threatening noises. It has announced nationwide protests by railway, energy, construction and de-

partment store workers on June 4, and this week urged employers to settle any outstanding disputes before the World Cup starts.

"All must, of course, be done to make the World Cup a success, but if labour conflicts are justified then I'm very much afraid there will be conflicts," said Gilbert Stouquet, head of the CGT's transport branch.

Even the police have jumped on the bandwagon. About 100 off-duty patrolmen invaded the offices of the World Cup organising committee this week, demanding bonuses for the extra work the tournament will involve. While French police are banned by law from striking, they are allowed to demonstrate as long as they are off duty and out of uniform.

The government is beginning to show the strain. "The whole world will be looking at France," the transport minister, Jean-Claude Gaysot, told Air France pilots on Wednesday. "Let's not do anything to spoil the festival of football, let's not do anything to harm the image of France and of its businesses."

Mr Gaysot has dissociated himself from Air France management, saying cost-cutting must not be solely at the expense of pilots' salaries and that the twin-tier salary scale could be scrapped.

There is still plenty of room for manoeuvre but Mr Gaysot and his colleagues face a busy couple of weeks.

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Those golden goals

☐ **AMERICAN** baseball players are wiped out the 1994 World Series with their strikes. Although bitterness among the fans about the players' greed still lingers, baseball players are now probably the highest paid sportsmen in the world.

☐ **TELEVISION** technicians at the BBC know that what Auntie most fears is blank screens during Wimbledon and the Test matches. So when have they threatened industrial action this year?

☐ **AUSTRALIAN** unions are already gearing up for the 2000 Olympics in Sydney. They know how important this event is for the prestige of New South Wales at the beginning of the millennium.

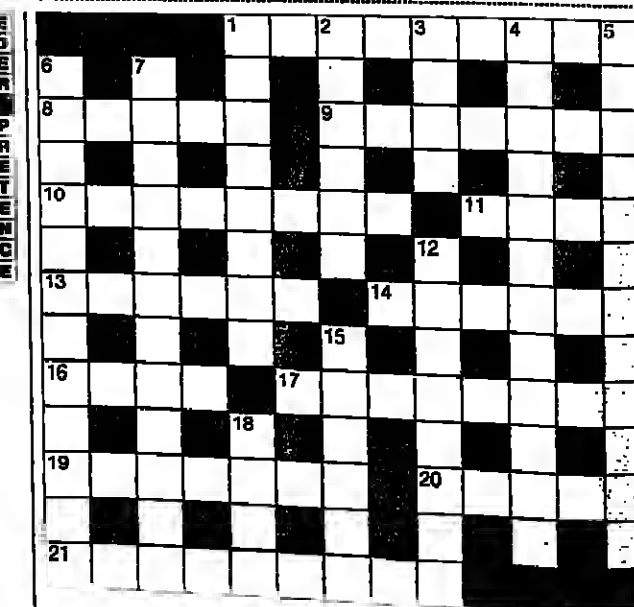
☐ **DURING** wartime, governments find themselves at their most ready and susceptible. Hundreds of thousands of miners and other British workers struck during both world wars, spurred on in 1917 by the Russian Revolution.

☐ **AND** finally... What summer would be complete without at least one set of air traffic controllers or baggage handlers — often Spanish — threatening to ruin everybody's holidays with an impromptu stoppage?

Quick Crossword No. 8761

ALBY EPILIQUE
UVE UTLO
TACTFUL INANE
OIF LNSR
BADGE ENGAGE
A TERTHOPE
O HTHOWE
UNFAIR CRAFT
SLD OCE
TROUT UNICORN
OAGLRC
MONARCHY KNEE

Solution No. 6760



Across

- Monopoly, for instance (5,4)
- Bury (5)
- Three notes in time of two (music) (7)
- Figure with seven angles (8)
- Make indistinct (4)
- Unmarried (6)
- Unit of poetry (6)
- Resound (4)
- American Indian soft shoe (8)
- (of prices) Keep to existing levels (3,4)
- First premier of Soviet Union (5)

Down

- Shellfish adhering to ships (8)
- Fighting — lawsuit (6)
- Platform (4)
- Times past, remembered with nostalgia (4,4,4)
- Amusing — hostess is doing it (12)
- One easily woken (5,7)
- Get a move on (4,2,3,3)
- Problem — an insistent person (8)
- Island in the western Pacific (6)

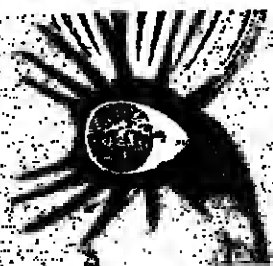


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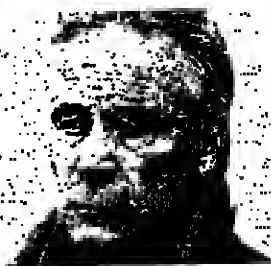
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saturday

May 30 1998



Minnie and Mickey, key players in the game-plan, at Disney-MGM Studios, Florida

Carl Hiaasen is America's funniest novelist and Disney World's greatest detractor. Here he defines how Team Rodent has gnawed at Florida's heart



Mouse trap

One company has changed the face of an entire state, Florida, where I live. Three decades after it began bulldozing the cow pastures and draining the marshes of rural Orlando, Disney stands as by far the most powerful private entity in Florida: it goes where it wants, does what it wants, gets what it wants. It's our exalted mother teat, and you can hear the sucking from Tallahassee all the way to Key West.

The worst damage isn't from the Walt Disney World Resort itself (which is undeniably clean, well-operated and relatively safe) or even from the tourists (although an annual stampede of 40 million Griswolds cannot help but cut an untidy swath).

The absolute worst thing Disney did was to change how people in Florida thought about money; nobody had ever dreamed there could be so much. Bankers, lawyers, real-estate salesmen, hoteliers, restaurateurs, farmers, citrus growers — everyone in Mickey's orb had to drastically recalibrate the concepts of growth, prosperity, and what was possible. Suddenly there were no limits. Merely by showing up, Disney had dignified blind greed in a state pioneered by undignified greedheads.

Everything the company touched turned to gold, so everyone in Florida craved to touch or be touched by Disney. The gates opened, and in galloped fresh hordes.

As Orlando exploded, business leaders (and therefore politicians) throughout the rest of Florida watched and plotted with envy. Everyone conspired for a cut of the Disney action, meaning overkill. The trick was to catch the tourists after they departed the Magic Kingdom: induce them to rent a car and drive someplace else and spend what was left of their vacation money.

This mad obsession for sloppy seconds has paid off big-time. By 2000, the number of tourists visiting the Orlando area is expected to reach 46 million annually. That's more than the combined populations of California and Pennsylvania storming into Florida every year, an onslaught few places on earth could withstand. Many Disney pilgrims do make time to search for auxiliary amusement in other parts of the state. High on the list is the southernmost chain

of islands known as the Keys, where I live, and where only one road runs the length of the archipelago. Maybe you can appreciate my concern.

Disney's mission in Florida is to establish a sovereign state within a state, a private entertainment mecca to which every working family in America would be lured at least once and preferably several times. And that's exactly what has come to pass.

Disney World is the most visited vacation destination on the planet: kids who went there in the 1970s are bringing their own kids today, perpetuating a brilliantly conceived cycle of acculturation. Every youngster who loves a Disney theme park — and almost all of them do — represents a potential lifetime consumer of all things Disney. With this strategy, Disney will someday tap into the fortunes of every person on the planet, as it now does to every American whether we know it or not. The implicit message is that America's values ought to reflect those of the Walt Disney Company and not the other way round.

In the mid-1960s, rural land holders in central Florida began receiving inquiries from prospective buyers. The offers were fair, though not high enough to attract suspicion. Even at \$200 an acre, most owners were happy to sell. The transactions seemed routine, and it was a while before folks realized what was happening.

By then, roughly 24,000 acres had been acquired in methodical quilt-patch purchases by Walt Disney Productions. Realising that the price of land would have shot up if his involvement were known, Walt Disney had kept his role a strictly guarded secret. The pay-off was an incredible real-estate coup that would eventually transform 43 square miles of pastures, woods, and swamps into the world's most popular tourist destination.

Walt died [in 1966] five years before Disney World opened, but its future was secure. That's because Florida's legislators blithely agreed to give the company virtually whatever it wanted, and the main thing it wanted was autonomy: a private government for constructing and managing an amusement park. Thus was born the Reedy Creek Improvement District, an innocuous-sounding title that belies unheard-of powers. "The Vatican

with mouse ears," says Richard Foglesong, a Rollins College professor and long-time Disney watcher.

Reedy Creek takes in all the land purchased by Walt's secret agents in the 1960s. The district is "governed" by a supervisory board elected by the landowners, meaning the Walt Disney Company. Its borders contain two shell municipalities, Lake Buena Vista and Bay Lake, which have combined a permanent population of fewer than 50 souls, mostly company executives and their families. Everybody in Orlando knows that Reedy Creek is Disney and Disney is Reedy Creek, although, for legal reasons both claim to be separate. That's because Florida requires municipal governments to conduct their business in public, and, for competitive reasons, Team Rodent would rather not.

Never before or since has such outlandish dominion been given to a private corporation. Disney runs its own utilities. It administers its own planning and zoning. It composes its own building codes and employs its own inspectors. It maintains its own fire department. It even has the authority to levy taxes.

Florida's starstruck lawmakers didn't stop there. They also gave Disney's puppet government the authority to build its own international airport and even a nuclear power plant — neither of which the company has needed... yet. Reedy Creek is further empowered to have cemeteries, schools, a police department, and criminal justice system services that Disney has so far chosen not to assume.

Reedy Creek does, however, "contract" with Disney for an 800-member security force that patrols company property. These "hosts" and "hostesses" wear blue uniforms and badges, just like real cops — though legally they're not. Two friends of mine, Charlie and Cheryl Freeman, once took their son and daughter to Church Night at Disney World. They went on a bus with 17 other children and several parents.

Outside Tomorrowland, the Freemans had a run-in with another group of youngsters on an escalator. The kids were swearing loudly. When Charlie asked them to stop, one of them swung a leg and caught Cheryl in the page 14

What is the next number in the following series?
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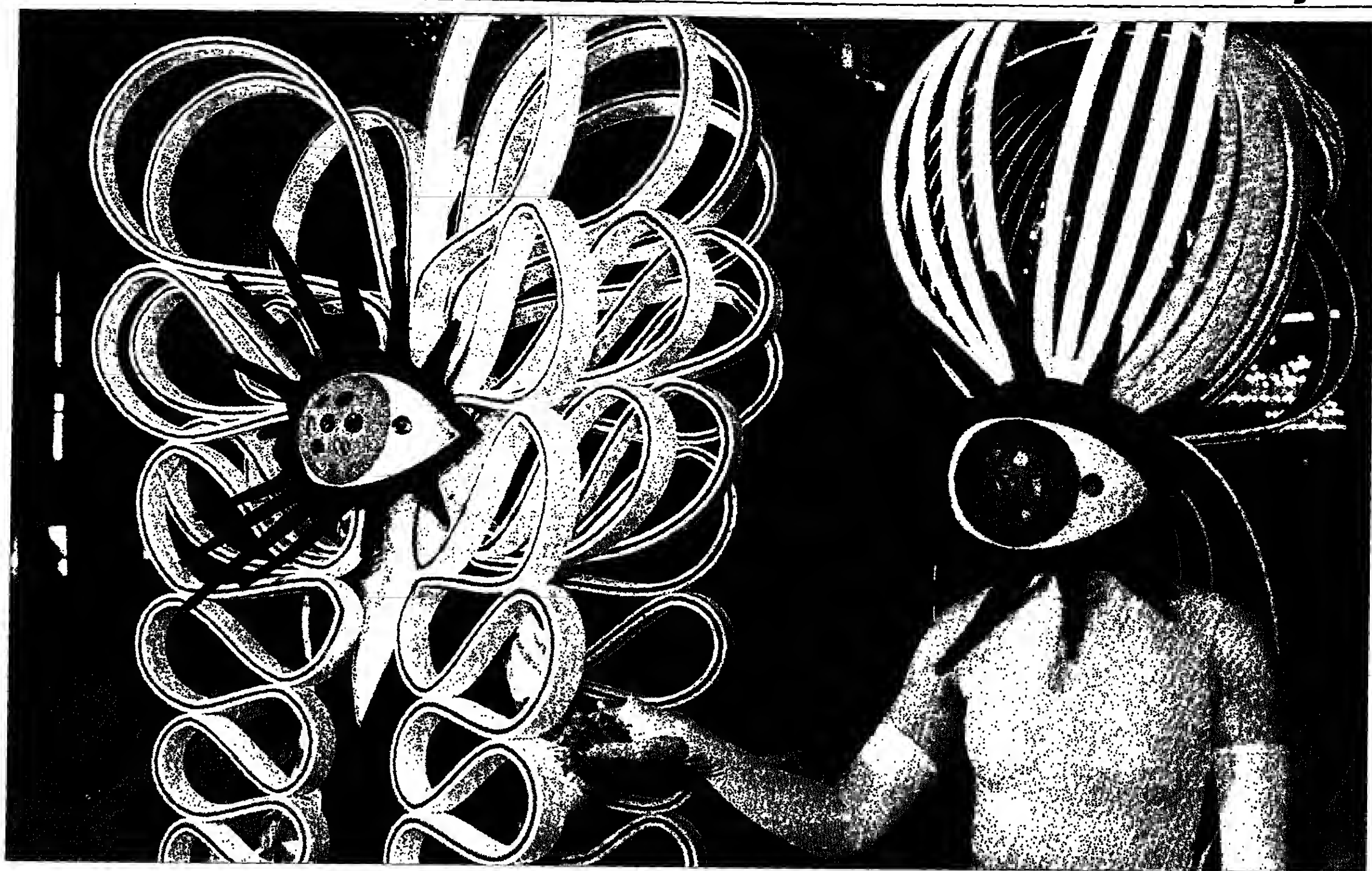
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int speaking
tongues



Arnold Kemp in Paris investigates the new French resistance, dedicated to fighting World Cup fever

Ooh ah, pas comme ça

The baker on the corner is bewildered by my inquiry. The patron of the little bar opposite is also puzzled. For him a far more pressing question is whether he can exact payment for the lunch just consumed by an old man licking his lips and fumbling in his pocket for change.

The Committee for the Boycott of the World Cup — or Cobo for short — operates from an apartment just up the road, here in the 20th arrondissement of Paris, but there is no answer at 7 Villa Stendhal when I ring the bell and no one in the district seems to have heard of it.

An hour later, across the city in the suburb of Ivry, a jovial young advertising man, Laurent Terrisse, comes bounding down from his office to tell me of another initiative, an association he and colleagues have set up called La Coupe est Pleine. "Please don't

publish our phone number, or the name of my advertising agency," he pleads. His boss, a football fan, would not be too pleased.

The groups are hardly setting France on fire but they represent the two strands of opposition to the World Cup. The first, intellectual and analytical, denounces it as a capitalist ramp, an opiate of the people which diverts them from political and social evils. The second is non-political, but fears that the tournament, like the legendary upas tree, will poison everything around it.

La Coupe est Pleine exists to help "pariahs" in a world gone football crazy. "We are not against the World Cup," says Terrisse. "We are humorous and non-political. We are ephemeral and will be wound up after the cup is over."

The group, he says, has more than 600 members round France, two-thirds of them men, who have paid a subscription of 50 francs. It

has negotiated special deals with theatres, cinemas, restaurants, dance halls. All will be sanctuaries from TV football. Alsace, he says, has declared itself a football-free zone for the duration and is offering special tourist packages. "We may even," says Terrisse, "save a few relationships."

More likely is the possibility that some couples will fall out on matches dominate their domestic and social lives for a month. And the last straw for some stressed partnerships may well be T-shirts aimed at football-hating females, emblazoned with the slogan "I'm free tonight, there's football on the telly".

There's a strain of subversion, provocation even, in other manifestations of the anti-lobby. Posters with the slogan "Exploit an idiot: rent a room to a football fan" have appeared in several host cities. In Montpellier, the hostile feeling has hardened into a protest about pub-

lic funds being used to promote the World Cup.

Another of the anti-groups, No Foot, has got a web site and a wheeze which could knock a bit of stuffing out of the proceedings: they've taken the World Cup mascot, a cocky cartoon rooster named Footix and shown him impaled on a spit. Several hundred people have contacted the group via the net.

It is all, I suspect, a little more commercial than some of the protest organisers let on. The French tourist trade is worried that the cup will turn off the main flow of visitors on which it depends. This was the anxiety that lay behind French tourist minister Marie-George Buffet's recent call, much reviled in the London tabloids, for British fans, even those without tickets, to come and "join the party".

Terrisse gives me one of the window stickers for participating

establishments. The image is of a football scored out by a diagonal red line — a red card for the game itself. "Espace sans foot," it says.

On my subsequent wanderings through Paris, I see little sign of it. Virgin Megastore, it is true, is organising a series of "no football" concerts by artists from the competing countries but is trying to have it both ways by flagging football videos too. The Theatre Sylvia Montfort is from June 3 putting on a play called Red Card, satirising the sport and its players.

All these activities strike me as marginal. The intellectuals may pronounce, the impresarios may produce. But most people are less than engaged. France is much less enthusiastic about the game than the Brits, the Germans, the Italians or the Spanish. And the use of football to assert national identity — for example, by the Scots — seems to them absurd and even undignified.

The reasons are partly historical, says the sociologist Patrick Mignion, "because of the way the game was introduced from England in the late 19th century. There it was the game of the industrial proletariat and became the national game. Here it is just one of a number of sports." It follows, therefore, that "so far French supporters haven't got really involved with the national team. French fans are much more involved in their local clubs."

Mignion, author of *La Passion du Football*, argues that unlike the British or the Germans they don't support their country win or lose, in good times and bad. They rejected an attempt by the French FA to set up a national supporters' club, which they regarded as artificial. "Their support is conditional. The national team has to be strong and stylish. There's a kind of pride behind this, an idea that to be French you have to be very, very good." Attendances in France,

though they have perked up this year, are still well behind those in England, Germany and Italy, with the exceptions of Lens and Marseille. "People in France like football," said Mignion. "But the idea of promoting the big club in the big city is something which is a little bit alien to the tradition."

The general public, he thinks, are mostly indifferent to the anti-football campaigns. But there is a long intellectual tradition of hostility to the game at its highest levels. It has been seen either as a substitute for war or part of the capitalist machine.

The French sociologist Jean-Marie Brohm has called sport "a prison of measured time" and has written of the exploitation, by capitalism and the bureaucratic state, of the "man-machine". Brohm is an adherent of the so-called Frankfurt School, which denounces the alienation caused by mass consumerism, in pop music as in football.

Cobof's manifesto makes similar points. At a time of grave economic and social crisis and of growing inequality, it says, France has spent 10 billion francs (£1 billion) on a new national stadium. When the position of its immigrants has never been precarious, France, the "cradle of human rights and a traditional country of asylum," is welcoming teams from military dictatorships, police states and other "non-democracies" where human rights are flouted.

It adds: "Political fervour and the political consensus round football cannot hide the mafia influences around it, the drugs, the weekly violence inside and outside the stadiums, the victims of football disasters, and the constant police surveillance. Must this festival become a vast police conference?"

Would you follow this?... masks for the opening ceremony
PHOTOGRAPH: ANAIS NICOLE BRUNEL

But intellectuals are also coming forward to champion the game. Some of their pronouncements seem windy, not to say pretentious. Patrice Delbourg and Benoit Heimermann who have brought out a literary anthology for the World Cup, *Football & Literature*, say: "The goal is football's orgasm. And the nations of all the world are its putative lover."

Such sentiments might alarm women. But not, apparently, here in France. One of the opposing groups, "Y'a pas que le foot!" (Football isn't everything), was formed by three women but has only 30 members. It says it is neither feminist nor against football. It is simply a club which organises outings on the days when big games are on television.

And, according to a poll in *France Soir*, most French women are not seriously bothered anyway. A majority were not interested in football at all and 88 per cent thought it would be unlikely to create more problems over the choice of TV programmes in their homes. Three conclusions seem possible: that they are submissive, that they are dominant or that, like many women, they suspect their dislike of soccer for the duration, seduced by the pageant and the allure of male athleticism.

An unworthy thought, but possible evidence to support the last of these conclusions is an event promoted by a Paris theatre, the Elysée-Montmartre. It's a sort of Chippendales Anti-World Cup strip show. A spokesman was quoted as saying a few days ago that most of the bookings so far had come from men wanting to make up to their wives for an anticipated overdose of the twin pleasures of booze and soccer in the coming weeks.

And remember, a godchild isn't just for Christmas

A baby-naming ceremony is no substitute for a christening, says **Matthew Fort**

Can you have a godparent if you don't have a God? The Baby-Naming Society is the latest brainchild of sociologist Michael Young who feels that, with church baptisms in decline, there should be a secular ceremony for this important rite of passage. It's a point of view but given a choice between a christening and a baby-naming ceremony, I know which I'd opt for.

It isn't a matter of religion. It's a matter of ritual, the sense of wider community that going to church to get your name engenders. The formula the ENS has come up

with — "We promise to try to love and to be patient with our baby, neither demanding too little nor expecting too much. We will try to offer unconditional love regardless of her/his success or failure" — seems a typical limp fudge, and accepts implicitly that parents are bound to fail in these duties.

Say what you like about the state of the Anglican church, it still knows where it stands on the matter of giving babies their names. It has that robust and unequivocal declaration on renouncing the Devil and his works, and a similar acceptance of a whole raft of responsibilities on behalf of the innocent mite.

Of course there are those for whom such words are completely meaningless. God — who he? Go to any christening and you're bound to see a couple of godparents, and probably parents as well, stumbling through the responses, without the vaguest idea of what they're letting themselves in for.

Of course it would be better all

round if the aisles were packed with committed folk who knew their catechism, creed, communion and christening duties backwards, but we know this isn't the case. However, the bosom of the Church is broad and you never know if or when folk may see the light. So if it's all right with you, it's all right with us, seems to be the pragmatic position.

No, it's always the non-believers who get all of a twitter about nurturing some words they can't see the point of as if, somehow, they'll be giving offence to the God they don't believe in. This position reminds me of the response Kingsley Amis made when asked whether or not he believed in God. He said he couldn't possibly respond, "because you never know who's listening".

More worrying, however, is the effect any major shift in the baby-naming business would have on godchildren. Speaking as someone who has more than his fair share of godchildren — and every one a source of joy — I have devoted a



good deal of time to the role and responsibilities of the godparent. In theory, I undertake to give the parents a hand in the moral guidance of Jamie, Kate, Nell, Ed, Marietta, James and Oliver.

Frankly, guidance in the Christian sense is superfluous where godchildren are concerned. There are few more godless creatures than godchildren. In a broader sense, moral guidance of the kind, "Yes, I will take you to see Spice

world: The Movie", or, as they get older, "Yes, you are old enough to drink a Martini", and later still, "Listen, it's probably not the right time to tell your mum and dad that; why, yes, of course they love you, and I'm sure they'll come round in the long run..." tends to be more appreciated.

However, the greatest duty of the godparent is to give presents, as regularly as your pocket allows. In the present stakes, we stand

only below parents and grandparents. Birthdays and Christmas are obvious occasions, but there are severe problems with these.

Give a child a present at Christmas and, in all likelihood, it will be one among dozens and hence ignored. Certainly it will be lost, or broken by the time you next see them, thus gaining you no advantage in their affections. I have found birthdays even more problematical because I can never keep the dates in my head, or my diary come to that. And, having suffered from the same insult myself, I know that there is nothing more pathetic than a smart, propelling pencil arriving a week late with a note of faint apology.

So, after a good deal of trial and error, I came up with a solution to the primary godparent responsibility problem. I select a totally arbitrary date in the course of the year and sit down and write to each of my godchildren in turn, enclosing a modest sum of money and strict instructions not to write to thank me for

this kindness. All they have to do is drop me a line at any time of their choosing to tell me what they've been up to.

Imagine the delight when, out of the blue, you get a letter containing money to which you don't have to respond. They may think you're as mad as a hatter, but they'll remember who you are, hopefully with affection.

Of course, there should come a time when godparental responsibilities should cease. In theory, for Christians this happens officially with confirmation. You can wash your hands of them at that point, although the relationship can be more enduring. My own beloved godmother, Pamela, was still forking out for me in her nineties, but I can't really see this appealing to everybody.

As far as I can make out, the Baby-Naming Society doesn't seem to have thought about this. Get caught up in a baby-naming ceremony, and you're stuck for life. It's enough to turn anyone religious on the spot.

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books

Fiction? Travel? History? Or all of these? His own publishers cannot quite classify W G Sebald's latest book. **James Wood** on a master of the strange and sublime

A death artist writes

The Rings of Saturn
by W G Sebald
translated by Michael Hulse
296pp, Harvill, £15.99 hbk,
£12 pbk

Anxious, daring, extreme, muted — only an annulling wash of contradictory adjectives can approach the agitated density of W G Sebald's writing. More simply, this German who has lived in England for over 30 years is one of the most exciting, and most mysteriously sublime, of contemporary European writers. When his book *The Emigrants* appeared two years ago, one immediately thought of Walter Benjamin's remark that all great works found a new genre or dissolve an old one. At last, a contemporary writer had discovered a way to stretch the novel-form beyond its frame, to harness realism into a state of self-examination.

Yet Sebald's adventurousness was also grounded in the actual. Indeed, it says much for Sebald's profound literary tact that *The Emigrants* made moving and real a dilemma that is usually an abstraction: the question of what is real and what is invented. In *The Emigrants* Sebald told the stories of four men, each of whom had been menaced by 20th-century history. All four were the victims of slightly different kinds of upheaval or catastrophe: two were casualties of Nazism, and two of exile, and all, like 19th-century fictional characters, had had their lives eaten at by sadness, by a kind of internal wasting sickness which Sebald superbly evoked. All of these characters actually existed, yet *The Emigrants* reads like fiction — and is fiction — because of the care and patterning of Sebald's narration, because of its anguished interiority, and because Sebald so mixes established fact with unstable invention that the two categories copulate and produce a kind of truth which lies just beyond verification: that is, fictional truth.

But on its own, this would not be daring — would not even be new. What is extraordinary about

both *The Emigrants* and *The Rings of Saturn* is the scrupulous uncertainty with which Sebald invests his narratives. In both books, for instance, uncaptioned photographs are included, most of which relate to a place or incident in the text, but some of which do not. It seems likely that Sebald borrowed this idea from Stendhal's autobiography, *The Life of Henry Brulard*, throughout which Stendhal litters his own, often unreliable drawings. Similarly, in both of Sebald's books, the narrator is proximate to Sebald, but not identical with him. In *The Rings of Saturn*, for instance, the narrator tramps around Norfolk and Suffolk, with a hat and rucksack, more like Beckett's Molloy than the man called Sebald. Like a Beckett character, he often produces an alienated, disembodied comedy: "Whenever I am in Southwold, the Sailors' Reading Room is by far my favourite haunt."

If one passage can suggest the frail beauties, the dreamy suggestiveness, and the deep playfulness of Sebald's work, it might be a passage from *The Emigrants*, in which Sebald is walking with his Uncle Kasimir, on the beach in New Jersey. "I often come out here, said Uncle Kasimir, it makes me feel that I am a long way away, though I never quite know from where. Then he took a camera out of his large-check jacket and took this picture, a print of which he sent me two years later, probably when he had finally shot the whole film, together with his pocket watch."

Under this paragraph, Sebald prints a photograph of a man who looks a little like the author, standing on a beach. But the photograph is so murky that it is impossible to tell. We are encouraged to look at the photograph, which then turns us away from itself, converting the passage, very movingly, into a meditation on visibility. The literary care, in just a few sentences, is immense: the detail about how it took Uncle Kasimir two years to shoot the rest of the film suggests a life without photographs, a life without much sense of its own visibility. And the detail of the pocket watch, like a skull in a Renaissance painting, suggests both Time controlled and lost.



'There is something of the Gothic about Sebald's writing'... the beach at Covehithe, near Southwold, Suffolk

PHOTOGRAPH BY EAMONN MCCABE

In both books, Sebald's language is an extraordinary, almost antiquarian edifice, full of the faintest lustres. He is helped in this by the poet Michael Hulse, who renders Sebald's German into English. Sebald, who is a Professor of German at UEA, then powerfully trends his own English into Hulse's, sometimes rewriting entire passages. One of the oddest effects of this prose is a quality of melodrama and extremity running alongside a soft, dreamy mutedness.

Sebald's melodramatic side, one suspects, comes from the mid-19th-century German tale, such as was written by Adalbert Stifter. Often, in *The Rings of Saturn*, Sebald's narrator finds himself on a desolate heath, or caught in a storm, like the narrator of Stifter's tale "Limestone". There is certainly a quality of the Gothic about Sebald, written up in his dementedly patient locutions: "I stuck to the sandy path until to my astonishment, not to say horror, I found myself back again at the same tangled thicket from which I had emerged about an hour before..." Indeed, for all the quietness of Sebald's prose, exaggeration is its principle, an exaggeration he has undoubtedly learned in part from Thomas Bernhard. Sebald's pessimism is Bernhard-like, too; as the narrator puts it here: "In reality of course, whenever one is imagining a bright future, the next disaster is just around the corner."

In fact, rather than other books, it is a film that most resembles Sebald's lovely combination of opacity and wildness: Werner Herzog's great Caspar Hauser, to which Sebald silently alludes in *The Emigrants* (his work is saturated in reference). Like Caspar Hauser, the narrator of *The Rings of Saturn* dreams of the desert, and is something of a brilliant child, wandering around a landscape both real and imagined, at a finely bemused angle to all knowledge. As he tramps through East Anglia, he communicates with the dead, and ponders the strangest information, with which he is insanely preoccupied — the decline of herring catches, the destruction of elms in England, the habits of the silkworm.

He is especially attracted to the elegiac, to all that is dwindling and passing. At Somerleyton Hall, he sees nothing but grasses and weeds where once was a thriving estate. "It takes just one awful second, I often think, and an entire

epoch passes." It is just the same at Sudbourne Hall. At Dunwich, on the coast, Sebald tells us that one of the most important ports in Europe during the Middle Ages now lies underwater: "All of it has gone under, quite literally, and is now below the sea..."

Sebald tells the stories of eccentrics and fantasists, many of whom resemble the first subject of *The Emigrants*, Dr Henry Selwyn, who lived in a stocoe folly in his garden. We encounter the memory of Edward Fitzgerald, the translator of the Rubaiyat, who retired at an early age to a "tiny two-roomed cottage on the perimeter of the next fifteen years", living on vegetables. Swinburne, the poet, is also of interest to this unhappy narrator, for Swinburne, like Fitzgerald, essentially retreated from life, and lived quietly in Putney. He reminded a visitor, writes Sebald, of a silkworm; and it is entirely characteristic of Sebald's writing that this last fact might be invented, and that the "visitor" might be Sebald himself.

The true subject of *The Rings of Saturn* is death. In the first section of the book, Sebald writes about Sir Thomas Browne's *Urn-Burial*, which is about the complicated art-

facts that human beings surround themselves with in death. The country houses which Sebald describes are like the Pyramids and pagan graves that Browne described: they are mausolea. But Sebald is always deeply self-examining, and he feels the need to include his own book among these mausolea. The artist is like the silkworm, suggests Sebald, killing himself as he produces his fine thread of silk. In this sense, we are all artists, or death-artists: in a plane from Amsterdam to Norwich, the narrator looks down and notes, "It is as if there were no people, only the things they have made and in which they are hiding". (Sebald is hiding in this book, of course.)

Elegy, in England, is easy to buy, especially of the country-house kind. But what distinguishes Sebald from most English elegists is the deep unease of his elegy — its metaphysical, Germanic insistence. Sebald does not just see a political decline; he sees a decline of which we are not just the inheritors but the creators, too. This, I think, is because he believes in a kind of eternal recurrence. He does not say exactly this: but his book suggests that in every historical moment, we have already been here. Standing in a camera

obscura on the fields of Waterloo, he remarks that history is always falsely seen: "We, the survivors, see everything from above, see everything at once..." But how can we be the "survivors" of Waterloo? Only if we were actually there.

Typically opaque, Sebald proceeds in shuffled sentences, never underlining anything. But I take him to be suggesting that we are always the survivors of a history that we attended in a previous incarnation. This might explain why so many of Sebald's characters feel like Mrs Ashbury and her daughters, an eccentric Anglo-Irish family who have escaped from life, and about whom Sebald writes that they "lived under their roof like refugees who have come through dreadful ordeals and do not now dare to settle in the place where they have ended up". Mrs Ashbury tells the narrator: "it seems to me sometimes that we never got used to being on this earth and life is just one great, ongoing, incomprehensible blunder". That sentence might stand as both statement and emblem for this great, strange and moving work.

If you would like to order a hardback copy of *The Rings of Saturn* at the discount price of £13.99 (free p&g), call the Guardian Culture Shop on 0500 600102.

House-Clearing

by Alan Jenkins

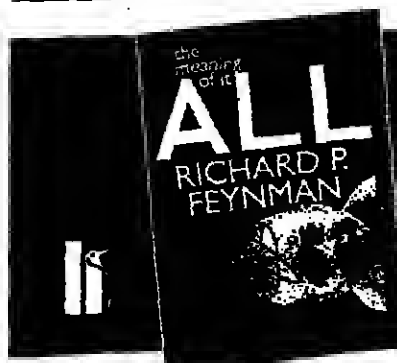
Her clothes are going into big black plastic sacks which I tie up, for charity; she no longer needs them, they are things that have not fitted her for years. And this Life of Cary Grant, these paperbacks I bought her — *The Penguin Book of Cats*, *Too Deep For Tears* — they must go as well, she no longer reads them and I'd say, judging from the dust they've gathered, hasn't done in years; nor, though she blab'd and blathered

with the neighbours endlessly about my books, has she opened those since — when? since she was moved to tears by how *unhappy* all my poems made me sound? — For here they are, as dusty as the others, and as useless. And when did she last refer to *Married Love in Later Years*? — Towards the end they slept in single beds, and looks, hard looks, were all that passed between them, drowned in scotch and disappointment. Now she's toothless

and the legs that, as a girl, she was famous for have started to give her hell, and she must leave her house which we both call home, as in "Are you coming home for Christmas?", and I can't believe her house holds so much of her: her clothes in cupboards; in her drawer a sheaf of letters, handwritten, tied with ribbon, and a poem cut from *Patience Strong*: on her dressing-table, lavender-water, scented handkerchiefs, heirlooms of an only daughter.

Who dreamt that I would be here, wrapping up her life, her fifty years in this one place as daughter, mother, wife, wrapping up the precious china and cut glass for sale by auction, tying up loose ends? That I would find these notes from relatives and friends, fusty, black-edged, "With deepest sympathy", these snaps that show her, a cut above, in her convent-class, then the woman of the house, house-proud, holding me?

House-proud! The Hoover sucks up a carpet of dust from the carpet, her sheets and pillow-slips are streaked and a smell of stale pee hangs about in the hall. The sideboards and the dinner-service and the toby-jugs, all that they inherited, accumulated, held in trust for her relatives "overscas", everything that shrieked quiet desperation at me, wrongness — the home she built: It must go, and she must go. What's left is guilt.



The Meaning Of It All The new bestseller by

Richard Feynman

A neat summary of Feynman's philosophy of science, and it makes a pretty good philosophy of life as well!
John Gribbin, *The Sunday Times*

Allen Lane Penguin Press £9.99 www.penguin.co.uk/science

Richard Williams kicks around some of the football books rushed out for the World Cup

The beautiful game dissected

From the window of a feminist bookshop in Charing Cross Road, a T-shirt broadcasts the summer's message: "The stronger women are, the more men love football." In neighbouring bookshops, the shelves are stacked with volumes hoping to catch the sales momentum released by Nick Hornby's *Fever Pitch* in time for the World Cup. Biographies abound, from the bland — Alan Shearer's *My Story So Far* (Hodder and Stoughton, £16.99) to the absorbing — Joe Lovejoy's *Bestie* (Macmillan, £16.99). Other writers investigate the game's booming infrastructure — *Fifa and the Contest for World Football*, by John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson (Polity Press, £13.95) and *The Football Business*, by David Conn (Mainstream, £14.99). More interesting, as the game's temperature rises and the tabloids bang the drum for the national team, is the proliferation of books by authors of a more romantic and literary persuasion, whose work, prefigured by Ian Hamilton's *Gaelic Gael* and Simon Kuper's *Football Against the Enemy*, reflects a change in the nature of football appreciation in Britain.

Eduardo Galeano is a novelist. He is also Uruguayan, which entitles him to call himself a supporter of a team that won four world championships — two World Cups, in 1930 (the first ever) and 1950, preceded by the Olympic tournaments of 1924 and 1928,

which were of equivalent standing. As many world titles as Brazil, in other words, yet achieved by a nation of three million people. Yet the Uruguayans have won nothing since beating Brazil in the 1950 final, in front of the largest crowd ever assembled to watch football, and failed even to qualify for this year's edition of the tournament.

"Uruguayan football is a far cry from what it used to be," Galeano writes in *Football in Sun and Shadow* (Fourth Estate, £6.99), a series of wry, poetic meditations on the game. "Fewer children play it and even fewer men play it gracefully. Nevertheless, there is no Uruguayan who does not consider himself a PhD in tactics and strategy, and a scholar of its history. Uruguayans' passion for football comes from those days long ago, and its deep roots are still visible. Every time the national team plays, no matter against whom, the country holds its breath. Politicians, singers and street vendors shut their mouths, lovers suspend their caresses, and flies stop flying."

For generations, the declaration of an interest in Uruguayan football would have provoked derision and incomprehension in Britain. No longer. A decade of intensive exposure to the influence of foreign mercenaries, from Cantona and Juninho to the squadrons of Frenchmen and Italians at Arsenal and Chelsea, has broadened the average English fan's horizons, encouraging an interest in the game's exotic aspects. So Galeano's book, full of charmingly discursive

thoughts on fans and administrators as well as players, will find an audience.

It is punctuated by word-sketches of individual goals that happened to catch his fancy. One of these was notched against England, in the 1970 World Cup in Guadalajara, scored by the winger Jairzinho at the end of a move featuring half the Brazilian team and climaxing in what basketball players call a no-look pass by Pelé. It was, in my view, the greatest goal ever scored — better even than Maradona's famous second goal against England in 1986, because it was a product of unselfish teamwork as well as individual genius, and because it broke the deadlock and decided the outcome of a match in which art and industry found a perfect balance.

Garry Jenkins is so fond of Jairzinho's goal that he describes it not once but several times during the course of *The Beautiful Teams* (Simon & Schuster, £15.99). Like one of those film directors who shows you a scene from several points of view. Adapting his title from Pelé's celebrated phrase, Jenkins tracks down several of the great men's colleagues in the 1970 Brazil team, which played football with an unequalled blend of technical skill and joyful spontaneity.

There are some marvellous stories, like the description of the semi-final against Uruguay, when the Brazilians, still smarting from defeat in the final 20 years earlier, became convinced that the game



One, six, it's all the same to me... Maradona takes on some nervous Belgians PHOTOGRAPH STEVE POWELL

was jinxed, and were revived only by a tearful halftime address from their manager, Mario Zagallo. Those who fear for the physical wellbeing of Paul Gascoigne in France this summer might also care to note that Brazil's playmaker, the great Gerson, was a three-peaks-a-day man who instructed the coaching staff to have a cigarette lit ready for him in the dressing room at half-time. Oddly, just about the only thing

wrong with Chris Taylor's *The Beautiful Game* (Gollancz, £16.99) is its title. For this book, subtitled *A Journey Through Latin-American Football*, goes beyond Pelé's words to examine the game in all its shades. Taylor, a Guardian colleague, travels through Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Bolivia, Nicaragua and Mexico, retracing the history of the game on the South American continent, from

the efforts of such 19th-century British pioneers as Thomas Hogg in Buenos Aires, William Poole in Montevideo, and Charles Miller, who organised the first game of football ever played in Brazil, one day in 1895 on a field in São Paulo. Taylor fits each nation's football into its general culture with wisdom and sensitivity. Here he contrasts the two men who coached Argentina to victory, the raffish, bohemian César Menotti of 1978

and the harsh, conservative Carlos Bilardo of 1986: "For his followers, Menotti is the Dr Jekyll of Argentinian football; Bilardo, its Mr Hyde. But Jekyll and Hyde were, of course, two sides of the same man."

Several players, of the past and the present, speak illuminatingly about their experiences, among them Antonio Rattin, the Argentine captain momentarily sent off at Wembley in 1966; Zico, star of Brazil's feckless playboys of 1982; and Gustavo Poyet, currently embodying the old strengths of Uruguayan football on the King's Road. But Taylor also tackles racism, corruption and murder.

For a compact, literate, all-round history of the tournament, Brian Glanville's *The Story of the World Cup* (Faber, £9.99) is the best of the bunch. First published before the 1974 finals, and regularly updated, it reflects the vast knowledge and enlightened prejudices of the first British football critic to base his outlook in the belief that the British way of playing the game was not naturally superior to all others. Glanville was often mocked for seeming to favour footballers simply because their names ended with a vowel; looking around today's press box, he must sometimes feel entitled to claim royalties.

Although it necessarily duplicates some of Glanville's coverage, Chris Predd's *The Complete Book of the World Cup* (Collins Willow, £14.99) is in fact a useful complement, since it favours detail over narrative and includes the full teams from every match played in the final stages since 1930. Well designed, it contains a lovely colour picture of the first champions, in their sky-blue shirts, among them the prominent figure of José Leandro Andrade, christened "The Black Marvel" by admiring French crowds at the 1924 Olympics. A former carnival musician and shoe-shiner, Andrade had travelled to France, like the rest of his team mates, on a third-class ticket. Afterwards he stayed on in Paris to become, in Galeano's phrase, a "king of the cabarets". But you probably knew that already. In a sense, we're all Uruguayans now.

Julian Critchley exposes the Tory Party's real assassin

Whodunnit? Mrs T

Guilty Men
by Hywel Williams
261pp, Aurum Press, £19.95

Hywel Williams, John Redwood's former special adviser, has written an account of the decline and fall of the Tory party and the Major government. It is a highly partisan account of two leadership elections: the one when the Prime Minister saw off Mr Redwood; the other, when the tattered remnant of the Tories, 184 strong, voted for a leader to replace John Major. Both episodes were discreditably, and revealed the extent to which the Conservative Party has gone to the dogs.

Mrs Thatcher, who seized power in a coup d'état in 1979 — the so-called "peasants' revolt" — brought about the downfall of the most successful party in politics, a process disguised by an electoral system that for three elections worked in favour of the Tory party. Mrs Thatcher soon became intolerable, dismissive of views that were contrary to her own, rude to her colleagues, and eventually unbalanced. This degeneration was hidden from the public at large by the slavish admiration of the right-wing press, and of Rupert Murdoch in particular. The denigration of Mrs

Thatcher in the autumn of 1990 was compounded by the "invention" of John Major. Major, who had held three major offices of state, none of them long enough to make any real impression, was "the man who could stop Michael Heseltine". In an ideal world Major would have become either Hurd's or Heseltine's chief whip, but the Tory party has always indulged its natural taste for mediocrity.

Williams, who has an axe to grind, seems only reluctantly to have come to the conclusion that the survival of the Tory government was impossible. Major won in '92 because he was not Thatcher, but a gap had opened up between the party's establishment, which favoured greater European integration, and its rank and file of petty nationalists and Eurosceptics. Many of the party loyalists had retired from politics, and the rank and file, the estate agents, bouncers and gasfitters shrank from "One Nation" Conservatism and reverted to type. They could not forgive themselves for having voted Major into power; in his turn Major was not a strong enough character to get the better of his enemies, ranging from the ambitious Portillo to the sly Redwood.

Williams's polemic might have been better titled "Death Wish" for that is precisely what the party suffered from, and still suffers to this

day. Hurd and Ken Clarke have retired to the City, Chris Patten to Ireland and Michael Heseltine to his arbutum. Who on earth have we left? An untried "teenager" whose unpopularity is unrivalled. A disappointed, even bitter, Redwood who sees 15 years of opposition devouring his prime. Peter Lilley, who could not knock the skin off a rice pudding. And Michael Howard, who quite deservedly came last in the June '97 leadership election.

Has the Tory party a future? I ask only for information. Does it matter what William Hague says about Europe, save for the further disharmony he causes among Conservatives? The chances of his becoming Prime Minister are remote. The substitution of that old Liberal imperialist Winston Churchill for Neville Chamberlain (thanks to Adolf Hitler) saved the Tory party for the better part of 50 years. We are back to the days of Sam Hoare, Lord Halifax and Kingsley Wood, although they at least held office. If you ever doubted the old truism "there's no love at the top", read Mr Williams.

Julian Critchley was a Conservative MP for 31 years. His autobiography, *A Bag of Boiled Sweeties*, is published in paperback by Faber (£8.99). His *Colours of Stout* Party will be published in paperback by Gollancz in September.

Nick Crafts on a book that doesn't work hard enough to succeed

The Protestant shirk ethic

The Wealth and Poverty of Nations
by David Landes
650pp, Little, Brown, £20

Economic history is in severe decline in British universities, so it would be an excellent moment for the arrival of a book which captures the public imagination, addresses the big issues and offers insights into the roots of economic success and failure. These indeed seem to be David Landes's aims as he sets out "to do world history" and to answer questions such as "How did rich countries get so rich, why are the poor countries so poor, and why did Europe take the lead in changing the world?" So is this really the answer to the economic historian's prayers?

Certainly, the author displays a dazzling range of knowledge and breathtaking audacity in covering a thousand years of world economic history. The pace is that of a desperately ambitious television documentary, but accompanied by hundreds of learned footnotes. Many fascinating and unexpected details emerge from the history of technological advance; for example, the economic significance to medieval Europe of the inventions of eyeglasses and mechanical clocks. Contentious opinions are

stated forcefully, the chapters are short, and the style is clearly intended to attract a very wide audience. Lots of sentences without verbs and an important, if polemical, message to sell, namely, that political correctness is the enemy of good history.

The main lines of argument are that the culture of a country is the crucial ingredient for economic success and that, given the establishment of a suitable economic and legal infrastructure which combines competition with secure property rights, education, inventiveness and entrepreneurship are the keys to achieving and sustaining economic leadership. The cultural characteristics which are conducive to riches are the good old Victorian values of a strong work ethic and sense of purpose. Better to be Protestant than Catholic or Japanese rather than Latin American.

Landes is most persuasive in his account of the rise of Europe, which fits nicely with his main themes and draws on his extensive research in the history of technology. He is surely right that Europe should be praised for its economic and social precocity, that its primacy in the industrial revolution was no accident, and that this should be broadcast rather than downplayed in the interests of appearing not to be

Eurocentric in the classroom. Ultimately, however, the book is a disappointment; it promises much more than it can deliver. It is not a work which offers important new truths and research findings. At best, it re-asserts some useful old knowledge and provides some helpful synthesis.

At its worst, it offers no more than tired old opinions — Landes's stress on the importance of the work ethic is ironic given the laziness of his own arguments.

Nick Crafts is Professor of Economic History at the London School of Economics.

The Loafer makes Hay

When so many authors are gathered together in a small space, it is always interesting to observe the pecking order among them. One way of doing so is seeing how they arrive. The up-and-coming are driven to the Hay-on-Wye literary festival by their agents. The big names get courtesy cars all the way from Hereford station. The truly, truly important (John Humphrys and Uri Geller) come by helicopter. Geller's chopper swept in over the Black Mountains, searchlight blazing, to great effect. Humphrys's pilot, however, got disorientated and landed in the wrong field. An irate hill farmer is currently pursuing a legal action to compensate him for the trauma suffered by his cattle.

The other sign of status is accommodation. The first question amongst the literati is always, "where are you staying?"

If your publishers love you, they stump up for a room at the fabulously expensive Llangoed Hall. If you are billeted on one of the long-suffering "Friends" of the Festival, several of whom seem to live in the loveliest houses in Britain, your star is indeed in the ascendant. If you are published by Faber and Faber, you stay in the sinisterly named "Faber House". (Such stabling of authors has its precedents. In the 18th century, leading publisher Edmund Curll kept his writers in a garret above the shop, whistling them down to produce a poem or pamphlet as required. Apparently they slept together in one big bed. One hopes the Faber House is a little less cramped.)

The questions from the audience that invariably follow talks at Hay tend to be friendly. "Who is your favourite Jane

Austen heroine?", was the biggest poser faced by Claire Tomalin. What the speakers do not realise is that some of those in the audience are what one might call "serial questioners". For festival-goers, one of the dominant personalities this year has been a balding man in a grey-ribbed jumper called Brian who seems to be there at the end of every session with a lengthy question.

As he grasps the microphone, the punters, who've heard it all before, groan inwardly, but those on the stage know no better than to smile receptively. He begins with fulsome thanks to the speakers, and they visibly warm to him. However, just as rapport is established, Brian says what no author wants to hear. He too is "thinking of writing".

Germaine Greer was one of the few to provoke a genuinely hostile (and pointed) question. Perhaps it was her design, for her lecture on Shakespeare was characteristically provocative. She opined that, in the 16th century, Venetians and Adonis was "what horny housewives kept in the sock-drawer" and that the role of Shakespeare's wife had been neglected for much of the 20th century because "to celibate scholars the thought of a wife was cock-crinklingly terrible". In amongst such bons mots, she had many harsh words for leading American academic Helen Vendler, author of a recent book on Shakespeare's sonnets. Yet even she seemed a little non-plussed when, at question time, a member of the audience said, "Some of the things that you said about Helen Vendler seemed trivial and bitchy: what have you

got against her?" Greer was only momentarily fazed before she grasped at her answer. "My friend Tom Paulin loves Vendler's book, so it was an affectionate joke against him." • Longest queue for book-signings: Terry Pratchett. • Oddest-looking members of queue for book signings: ditto. • Cruellest session: Priya Wickramasinghe's Sri Lankan cookery, prepared before a salivating audience, then removed to be eaten by festival staff. • Raconteur of the Festival: Lord Callaghan, for his account of being taken for a (high-speed) spin through every red light by Idi Amin, in his green Mercedes. • Smoker of the Festival: Christopher Hitchens — heroic. • Most fancied Hay author: Rupert Thomson. The Loafer overheard someone saying they'd like to drown his girlfriend.

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arts

Jay Parini didn't want to write a biography of the great philosopher Walter Benjamin. It would, he said, have been a hard slog. Instead, he decided to make it up. And that's when everyone began to get angry. He talks to **Desmond Christy**

Panties on the brain

Julia swept her hair to one side, and he [Walter Benjamin] saw again how lovely her face was, with a straight, small nose, and her lips pale and pink. Her eyes burned distantly, like moons on early winter mornings. Unexpectedly, he wanted to make love to her again, to feel the length of her beneath him, and her heels digging into his back. He reached for her leg, and she let him slide his hand up to her panties.

— from Benjamin's Crossing, by Jay Parini

Walter Benjamin would have hated Jay Parini's latest novel, its subject being none other than Walter Benjamin. A novel about the great German-Jewish philosopher and his tragic death, by suicide, as he attempted to flee the Nazis! What's more, a novel that does not blush to present a Benjamin groping for panties.

You could hear the disapproval and incredulity in George Steiner's voice during a recent radio talk as he mentioned the fact that novels were now being written about Benjamin. Here was a man who, as a friend put it, "in himself and his relations with others always insisted unreservedly upon the primacy of mind; which, in lieu of immediacy, became for him immediate". How could anyone ever be qualified to write a novel about a man so obsessed with the mind, a mind that has been called "one of the seminal minds of all modernity"? Who, for that matter, could have a handle on all of Benjamin's intellectual interests and not find the whole misguided enterprise sinking under the weight of them?

Strangely, Jay Parini, biographer of John Steinbeck and, this autumn, of Robert Frost, is not being hounded out of town by the critics any more than he was when, in an earlier novel, he tackled the final days of Leo Tolstoy, another giant who had been labouring in the obscurity of not having been novelised by Parini. Harold Bloom, no less, has called Benjamin's Crossing "a poignant and eloquent vision of the great critic's personality and fate".

Parini, with four books of poetry and five novels to his credit, could have done the safer thing and written a biography. I decided that it would just be more fun to write it as a novel. To write it as a biography

would just have been a hard slog. I decided I would take the risk of entering into Benjamin's mind, which is presumptuous. Nonetheless, that was my enjoyment.

Someone who has not read Benjamin will not appreciate the scale of the imperitance involved in "entering into Benjamin's mind". Benjamin wrote wonderfully about Brecht, his friend, about photography, Baudelaire, Goethe, Kafka, art and technology, history and aesthetics, and objects of everyday life which previously had seemed unworthy of critical attention. His great thesis? George Steiner put it like this: "That a historian but also a philosopher, no a human being, thinking about the past, has a supreme duty, which is to rescue from silence, and from the lies of the victors, the oppressed, the enslaved, the victims of successful injustice, to bring them back to protesting life, out of the strategic amnesia which is imposed by official records of what really happened in history — the emperors, the kings, the rich and the victors."

Even those who have not read Benjamin may nowadays have some sense of how iconic a figure he has become, emblematic of Jewish genius, of the freelance mind spurned by the academy, yet far more creative than most tenured intellectuals. More than that, he symbolises the wound the Nazis inflicted on European culture, a wound so grievous that it has, arguably, never recovered.

Parini greatly enjoyed the freedom that are permitted the novelist but denied the biographer. "I loved the closing scene where Benjamin is in a little abandoned shack at the foothills of the Pyrenees, the night before he goes across to Spain. I knew that he was in that shack that night. If I was writing a biography, all I would have been able to write was 'Benjamin spent the night in a shack'. I wouldn't have been able to say what he was thinking, what was going through his mind." For the most part, the facts in Benjamin's Crossing are as factual as in a biography. "If I say that Benjamin spent three months in Capri in 1924, you can be pretty sure that he did. Whenever I quote him, I'm quoting for the most part, things that he wrote or said. I'm often taking things that he said and putting them in his mouth. That's why I put in all those epigraphs from Benjamin — to give you some idea



Walter Benjamin... 'Here is a man obsessed with the sexual life,' says his 'biographer' Parini

of how he talked." The story is told from various points of view. One of these voices is that of Gershom Scholem, the scholar of Jewish mysticism who was one of the few friends Benjamin could talk to as an intellectual equal. The letters they exchanged on Kafka, for example, have been described by George Steiner as "about as near to the limits of literary criticism and of the arts of reading as anything since Plato or Aristotle". But, surely, the conversations in Benjamin's Crossing are far more penetrable than they would have been in real life? "Yes. Absolutely," says Parini, "without a trace of guilt." "If anything, it falsifies on the side of lucidity. Benjamin is not that

readable. I think I do manage to make him more lucid — I try to, anyway. I made a vow to myself when I started writing that I would never publish a line that I didn't understand myself. It tends to make one much undervalued as a writer. I don't think George Steiner understands everything he writes."

Knowing the storytellers that Benjamin admired, and his scepticism about psychology in stories, it is easy to imagine that he would have had Parini's latest novel puled. He would have hated every word, wouldn't he? "I think so. Yes, he'd have hated my book, although I quote him in it as saying the novel of the future will be made up of fragments. And, to some degree, I

tried to adhere to that aesthetic. The book is made up of a patchwork of qualities, images, voices and thoughts, although it is far more coherent than anything Benjamin could have conceived of."

Benjamin wrote: "I came into this world under the sign of Saturn — star of the slowest revolution. Planet of detours and delays." Parini rules a more ordered universe. "A novelist who narrates in detours and delays is going to find a very narrow audience. Although I made some gestures in the direction of indeterminacy, I don't think it is really very complicated."

But there were still two more things troubling me about Parini's novel. The way in which his intel-

lectuals converse, and the panties.

"It's very tricky writing a book about intellectuals. You have to give some flavour of the kind of thing they might have said to each other — about philosophy, history and so forth. When I was writing it, I spent a lot of time in Italy. My neighbour there is Gore Vidal and we are good friends. I was sitting by his pool and I said to Gore, 'Do you think I can have characters talking for 14 or 15 pages about history, aesthetics and such things?' Only, said Gore, 'if they are sitting in a railway carriage and there is a bomb under the seat.' That's been my guiding principle. Any time I'm going to have a character talk about Heidegger, I put

another metaphorical bomb under the seat — the Nazis are coming, or the plane is going to crash, or a sexual encounter may occur."

Which brought me to the exploded bomb, which I primed at the start of this article. Walter Benjamin and panties! "Yes, it's true that panties and Walter Benjamin seem an incongruous combination. You know some people refuse to believe that Walter Benjamin had a body. But once I worked through the diaries and the letters, it was clear to me that he was sex mad. He was constantly hiring whores or coming up with girlfriends. Here is a man who was obsessed with the body, with the sexual life."

Parini tried hard to get at the physical suffering of Benjamin's attempted flight from the Nazis and heard an account of that journey from Lisa Fitko, the woman who led Benjamin across the Pyrenees and who is also a leading character in the novel. "Lisa Fitko told me that that time he slipped off the path, he was clinging there above a 3,000 foot drop. That's all very physical. I'm trying to give the physical life of Walter Benjamin as much as the mental life. You can get the mental life from reading his books. You don't need a novelist to do that."

Though it does not neglect the pathos of Benjamin's death, Parini's novel is not a hagiography. "I was surprised at how amoral he was. His indifference to his wife and son appalled me. At some level I really came to dislike this man, although I loved him in another way."

Also, he talked so much about the meaning of history and the

Parini said to Gore Vidal, 'Do you think I can have characters talking for 15 pages about aesthetics?' 'Only,' he said, 'if they are sitting in a railway carriage and there is a bomb under the seat'

destruction of history, yet it is history that killed him. He was a man unable to move from theory to practice. He was a man who took up Marxism only because it was criticised through this beautiful Latvian, Asja Lacs. Without her, I doubt that he would ever have moved in the direction of Marxism. He was an aesthete, a collector, he had a huge toy collection; he was a bourgeois Berliner to the hilt. He had a connoisseur's mentality which is radically at odds with the Marxist man of the people, even though he was one of the inventors of the study of mass culture.

Just as his mind was in some way disconnected from his body — there was a tremendous mind-body split there — so there was a disconnection between him as a thinker, as a collector of ideas, and practice. That's why he was sufficiently stupid to stay in Paris until the autumn of 1940. You or I would have left in 1936."

Hadn't Parini's view of Benjamin met with a lot of opposition? It was true that his version of Benjamin went very much against the academic grain. "This is not a book that highbrow theoreticians of post-modernism approve of. They oppose the whole idea of making a novel out of Walter Benjamin's life." By now, my little bombs are all safely defused.

Benjamin's Crossing is published by Anchor at £8.99.

Frankly, I'd rather be Gormless

Provocations
Martin Wainwright

As the world fills inexorably with Gorms and Gormlets, the time has come to ask two favours of their creator, sculptor Antony Gormley.

Is there any chance, first, of cheering up the colossal and homunculi that have sprouted across the country, from Gateshead to Piccadilly?

I know it can't be much fun being wrapped in clingfilm and getting plastered (the Gormley mould-making technique), but a

smile, even a hint of a dimple, would make them less grim. Not sentimental, the ultimate no-word for artists, just a bit more animated.

Blank, almost mummified features were the main reason my own city of Leeds failed to love the Brick Man, a mega-Gorm which, unusually but thank God, has never got beyond a maquette. We already have plenty of people built like brick privies up here, but we like the little details that explain who they are: lopsided grins, lazy eyes, crooked feet.

Ah, but severe, slabby anonymity is fundamental to the purpose of this artist's state-

ment, isn't it? Then, request number two, why doesn't Gormley wrap his clingfilm round someone other than himself?

The anonymity is nonsense anyway, as everyone knows that each Gorm — be it tiny, as vast as the Angel Of The North or exactly Antony's 6ft 4in — is made in the image of its creator.

To understand a psyche that can bear to gaze so relentlessly at the mirror, we don't need Narcissus or the Ladybird Book Of World Domination.

No, the roots of Gormenghast got all the compost they needed on a green hill near Thirsk, in the

prestigious classrooms of Ampleforth College.

A couple of monster feet on one end and Antony's huge head on the other, and the sculptor's Alma Mater could be transformed into the most appropriate Gormbeast of all. Because wasn't it this temple of boundless self-confidence (plus standard later CV — Cambridge, Slade and a stint in a London squat) that started the march of Gorms across the world?

Perhaps, as a deferential nation, we want to have an enormous head-prefect keeping watch on the Tyne. Maybe we need thousands of terracotta



Gorms, Gorms, Gorms... the RA gets the Gormley treatment

house monitors grouped in the shape of the British Isles to reassure us that all is fundamentally well. But we've got a strappy, democratic streak too, haven't we? Especially in the North.

Driving down the A1(M) past Gateshead, the name Oxyman-dias springs to mind. In 20

years' time, will we just see two metal stumps rusting away beside the road, marking the spot where the Angel Of The North once stood?

To avoid such a shabby fate, Gormenghast needs to involve more of its citizens. Antony has four brothers, three children

and a wife who is an artist in her own right. Couldn't they (the brothers representing their own fine professions of doctor, estate agent, furniture-maker and Oxfam director) have their bodies, rather than his, immortalised on the eight granite boulders planned as the British Library's slice of Gorm?

That would be a start. Then there must be neighbours in Camden, tennis partners, Rotarians with factories around the Gormley studio in Peckham, friends, passers-by, and clingfilm is constantly improving and getting more supple.

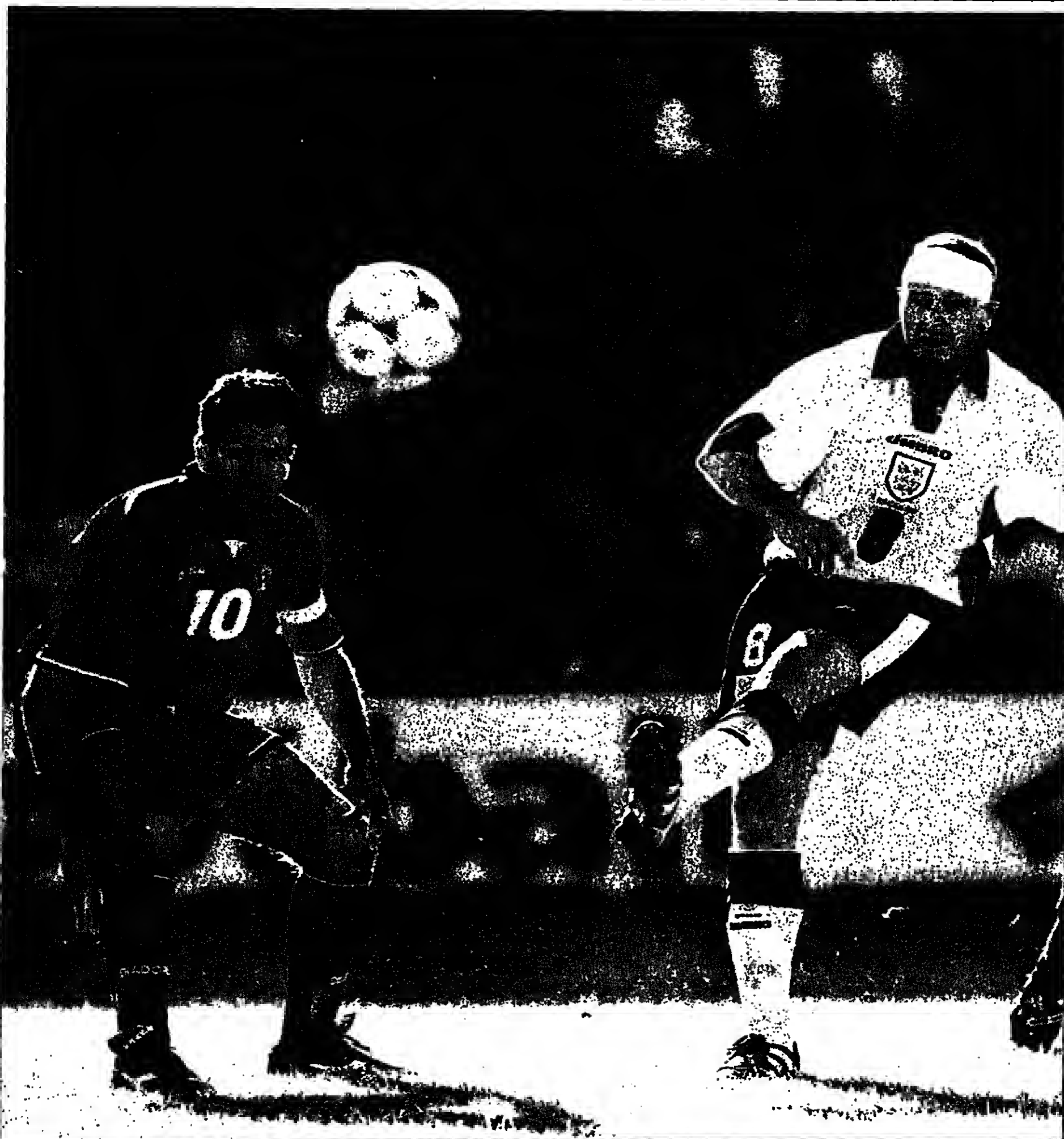
That way true greatness lies. That and a Gorm with the ghost of a grin. Then you can come back to Humelet, Mr G, and build us something truly awe-inspiring, something really angelic. Something calculated to make Gateshead green with envy.

سكنا من الامم

Six-page section

The Guardian weekend sport

Saturday May 30 1998 www.football.guardian.co.uk



Head start... Belgium's playmaker Enzo Scifo can only stare as his England counterpart Paul Gascoigne, complete with bandage, curls in a shot yesterday. PHOTOGRAPH: SHAWN BUTTERILL

Friendly international: Belgium 0 England 0 (Belgium win 4-3 on penalties)

Gazza fails to spark England

David Lacey in Casablanca sees the final World Cup warm-up end in defeat from a penalty shoot-out

GLENN HODDLE did his utmost to look on the bright side, but it was an uphill struggle. "We have learnt a bit," insisted the England coach after last night's goalless draw against Belgium had led to a 4-3 defeat on penalties. Rob Lee and Les Ferdinand proved unequal to the task. "We tried a few more people and did better in the second half. In the first half with a flat back four we played in straight lines and it shows you can be more flexible with a back three."

As if to emphasise the ephemeral nature of the exercise, Hoddle handed the captain's armband to Sol Campbell, at 23 the youngest player to lead England since Bobby Moore. Moore was 22 when he captained Alf Ramsey's team for the first time in 1963 against Czechoslovakia in Bratislava, oddly enough on the same date, May 29.

So much for the past. The inclusion of Gascoigne for the second time in three days was a pertinent reminder that this match was all about the immediate future.

Having lasted 90 minutes against Morocco, though



showing signs of exhaustion, Hoddle's most gifted yet most problematical player needed a performance of better quality to allay doubts that he would be too much of a risk in France.

At least Gascoigne could be reasonably sure that he would be in the squad. For Lee, Butt, Merson and Les Ferdinand this was either a last chance to impress or a consolation for being omitted, depending on the extent to which the England coach may have already made up his mind.

It had been eight years since the countries' last meeting, a rather more momentous affair in Bologna in the second round of the 1990 World Cup when David Platt's late goal, from Gascoigne's free-kick, took Bobby Robson's side through to the quarter-finals. Reaching the last eight will surely be Hoddle's minimum requirement this time.

Yesterday there were momentary doubts that Gascoigne would survive beyond the seventh minute after receiving the flailing boot of Enzo Scifo above the left eye. While Humpty Dumpty was being put together again Bel-

gium should by rights have scored.

Lokonda "Emile" Mpenza launched himself through a channel of space on the left before catching England's defenders square with a high pass into the middle, where Michael Goossens and Danny Boffin were both unmarked as they moved to receive it. Fortunately for England the pair impeded each other in their eagerness to shoot, and Martyn ended up having to field nothing more than a feeble shot from Boffin.

No matter what system Hoddle adopts there will always be problems when the ball is freely given away. Last night was a familiar story as Scifo and Glen De Boeck won easy possession in midfield and

sought out their front runners. When England did get their passing together the results were encouraging. From Gascoigne's pass, Lee's through-ball released Les Ferdinand only for the striker to be ruled outside. At least the Belgian cover had been penetrated.

Yet without either Paul Ince or David Batty mounting snappy duty in midfield England remained vulnerable to the sort of move which could have seen them fall behind midway through the half. Boffin darted behind Gascoigne to meet De Boeck's pass and set up Lokonda Mpenza for a shot which Nigel Martyn did well to push wide.

Such moments of excitement were rare in an encounter which increasingly took

Football: Scotland into action

Crying game is all over for Leighton

Patrick Glenn in Washington on the veteran keeper who plays against the United States tonight, eight years after his all-time low

JIM LEIGHTON is unlikely to go as far as sending Andy Goram a wish-you-were-here postcard, but the Aberdeen goalkeeper does feel genuine anguish about his rival's self-imposed exile from Scotland's World Cup party.

With Goram running for cover back to Brazil, Leighton will win his 88th cap this afternoon in Scotland's final warm-up match, against the United States at the RFK Stadium here in Washington.

The manager Craig Brown is left with little option other than to nominate Leighton as his goalkeeper for the World Cup, in which Scotland will share a group with Norway, Morocco and the holders Brazil, their first opponents on Wednesday week in Paris.

Leighton has gone from hero to zero and back again in remarkably quick time. His lowest moment came in Italia 90, coincidentally against Brazil, when having dived to push away a shot nine minutes from time he turned to see the striker Muller clip the loose ball over the line. It was the only goal of the match and signalled yet another Scotland failure to go beyond the World Cup's first phase.

"I was the very last person to leave the pitch," Leighton recalls. "I loitered on my own 18-yard line and Claudio Taffarel, the Brazil goalkeeper, had to come all the way up the field to shake my hand. I stood there taking in what I thought was my last World Cup."

Leighton was entitled to contemplate his future with a certain bleakness: he was 31 and had just lost his place in the Manchester United first team after his old Aberdeen mentor Alex Ferguson held him to blame for Crystal Palace's 3-3 draw in the 1990 FA Cup final and replaced him with Les Sealey for the replay, which United won 1-0.

He never played for United's first team again and, after loan spells at Arsenal and Reading and more time in United's reserves, he found himself keeping goal for Dundee's reserves.

Considering the damage done to his self-esteem during the three years after Italia 90 it would have been understandable if Leighton had simply walked away. Instead, eight years after the crushing disappointment of Turin, he is preparing to face Brazil again in the World Cup, only a few weeks from his 40th birthday.

He first appeared in Scotland's 1982 World Cup squad and was the No. 1 choice in Mexico in 1986 as well as in

McKinlay wings his way back from Scotland wilderness

Patrick Glenn

TOSH MCKINLAY, the full-back who made only six starts for Celtic last season and has not played for Scotland since October, is expected to start in today's final World Cup warm-up against the United States at RFK Stadium here in Washington.

Injuries to midfielder Craig Burley and striker Gordon Durie have made manager Craig Brown abandon his plan of fielding the team who will face Brazil on Wednesday week.

The reshuffle will probably take Jackie McNamara from right wing-back into midfield, the role played taken by Burley in last Saturday's 2-2 draw with Colombia in at Giants Stadium, New Jersey — with Christian Daifly switching from left wing-back to replace McNamara and McKinlay filling the Derby man's role.

The return of Kevin Gallacher, who had a stomach virus and missed last Saturday's 2-2 draw with Colombia, is good news for Brown. The Blackburn Rovers man is the most prolific forward currently at work in the Scotland

squad. In the World Cup qualifying matches he scored six goals in his last five games.

Gallacher has a stomach "We have our team for Brazil in mind," he said, "and what we want to do now is to try and improve on it, perhaps with one positional or personnel change."

The heat and humidity of the capital, where it is forecast that the temperature may be in the 90s, makes the match doubly significant for Brown. "It won't be any more demanding in France and this will give our guys an experience of it," he said.

The US have adopted a 2-6-1 formation and it has served them well in three friendlies where they did not concede a goal. But Roy Wegerle, the former QPR and Coventry player who is the lone striker, said: "Scotland are a better test than Macedonia or Kuwait. They will give us a better idea of how far we've come and how far we have to go."

SCOTLAND (probable, 2-6-1): Leighton (Aberdeen); Gallacher (Spurs), Hendry (Blackburn), Boyd (Celtic), Durie (Derby), McNamara (Celtic), Lunn (Celtic), Coffey (Middlesbrough), McKinlay (Celtic), Gallacher (Blackburn), Sealey (Celtic).

UNITED STATES (probable, 2-6-1): Kellner, Pope, Sealey, Beggs, Johnson, Melander, Stewart, Rogers, Donnelly, Agnew, Wegerle.

Football: Brazil on the rack

Come on Eileen, tell the Mikado man to lighten up, anyone would think there was a Ford Escort at stake

David Lacey



SOMEWHERE among England's kit suppliers the spirit of Gilbert and Sullivan lingers on. Why else would Glenn Hoddle's bench look like the Pirates of Penzance, ready at any moment to set forth, with cut-like tread upon the raging sea?

Of course what this World Cup is really all about is trial by Dreyfus, a testament to the healing powers of the amazing Eileen, although Ian Wright's torn hamstring was clearly beyond even her. Hoddle, meanwhile, is preparing himself for a leading role in the Mikado. He's got a little list, though they'll none of them be missed.

Not that this is quite how the England coach will put it on Monday when he announces the 22 names who will make up his World Cup squad. Those who miss the cut will be assured that it is nothing personal, but to the extent that one man's preference will be the deciding factor it can hardly be anything else.

So the England camp at the La Manga Club Resort will be full of little tensions this weekend as the majority of the squad who are assured of their places mingle with those who suspect that they are about to become excess baggage.

Clues are few. So intent is Hoddle on keeping a respectable distance between his players and a news-hungry media that even the Football Association's press officer has been billeted with the hacks in a timeshare complex well away from the team hotel. It can be assumed that the rivalry among the players is less intense than that reflected in one incident leading up to the 1970 World Cup in Mexico. Each member of Alf Ramsey's England squad had

been promised a Ford Escort — then quite a luxury for a footballer — and this led to Alan Mullery being ruthlessly fouled by a rival for his position. "I'll have that car off you yet," snarled the aggressor. Not that he ever did. Yet clearly the situation is getting under the skins of some of Hoddle's players. Normally Teddy Sheringham, an intelligent footballer, offers a useful insight into the game, but this week he faced the notebooks and tape recorders with the sullenness of a man brought in for questioning.

Hoddle's distancing of squad from media is perfectly understandable, given the importance of uninterrupted final preparations for the World Cup in a tranquil setting. But when France, who as the host nation will be under considerable pressure once the tournament begins, can produce 10 players in Casablanca for interviews at one press conference, it is clear that the English media are on extremely short rations where contact is concerned. It was not always like this. After Ramsey's squad had arrived in Mexico City, minus Bobby Moore, who had been held in Bogotá on trumped-up charges of stealing a bracelet, it was possible to drop into the England headquarters unannounced for a chat with any player prepared to talk.

This week, in between their friendlies with Morocco and Belgium in Casablanca, the England squad have managed to leave the press contingent in one continent, Africa, while flying back to another, Europe. If Hoddle does well in the World Cup none of this will matter, but should England flop, the hounds of hyperbole could well find him yearning for the relative obscurity of the humble turnip. Hell hath no fury like a wordsmith snubbed, and the bizarre twists of Hoddle's reign, the faith-healing and the reincarnation as much as any nuance of team selection or tactics, would be held against him in the event of failure.

It might be as well to define what, for England, would represent failure. The sports minister Tony Banks was right, if a mite tactless, when he said that England probably would not win the World Cup. They could, provided that luck with other results kept them away from the likes of Argentina and Germany in the knockout stage, but even then there would always be Brazil. Should Hoddle take his side to the last eight, that would not be bad for a team lacking in World Cup experience. It would then depend on whom they met in the quarter-finals and how they performed. Yet another defeat by Germany would be hard to bear but at least the England coach could quote case histories in his defence.

The line of definition between success and failure is so narrow. Had England lost to Cameroon in the 1990 quarter-finals, as they so nearly did, Bobby Robson would have been thrown to the wolves. In the event their defeat on penalties by the Germans in the semi-finals, combined with Paul Gascoigne's tears, drew a crowd of 100,000 to Luton airport to welcome the players home like the world champions they were never to be.

Glenn Hoddle should be so lucky. But then in a previous life he may have been Judas Maccabeus, the original conquering hero.



Under siege... the name of the game in Lesigny, where Ronaldo, right, and Brazil are not altogether welcome

Lesigny finds itself under siege with Ronaldo and Co in residence

Jon Henley reports from Paris



Trop de Brazil for the villagers

BRAZIL may have the most majestic set of players on the planet. They are the reigning kings of world football. But for the 8,000 inhabitants of Lesigny, a haven of leafy calm beyond the eastern fringes of Paris, they are a right royal pain in the backside.



Mayor and square... Maurice Mollard says 'it hasn't been easy' but they tidied up the village for their uninvited guests

"We're not responsible for their coming here and, to be perfectly frank, there are a lot of people who would rather they hadn't," said the village mayor, Maurice Mollard. "I'm doing my best to make sure it all goes well but I have to say it isn't easy."

Half a mile up the road, beyond a police road-block manned 24 hours a day by two equally disgruntled gendarmes, lies the source of the village's troubles: the Château de la Grande Romaine, an elegant white-walled building set in 70 acres of parkland. There the world champions are and there they will stay until, they hope, the World Cup final on July 12.

"Actually we're all secretly hoping they get knocked out early," said Nadine, who lives yards from the chateau and is already fed up with having to flash a security pass at a policeman every time she wants to leave her front door. "I don't know much about football and I have nothing in particular against Brazil but really this isn't very funny."



Last week police blew up a suspicious car parked near the squad's training ground at nearby Ozoir. Ronaldo and Romario are natural targets for any terrorist attack and, with 500 Brazilian journalists plus several thousand fanatical supporters intent on getting as close to the champions' headquarters as they can, Lesigny is a village under siege.

Only one road into its northern half is still open and those who live along it have been issued with fluorescent green passes to allow them through the barrier. Anyone else, which includes about 70 per cent of the village, has no

alternative but to make a lengthy detour. Even the track to the local cemetery is closed: no one had better kick the bucket before Brazil do. "There's no point denying it's a headache for some people," said a resigned Mollard at the town hall, where a steady stream of residents were signing for their passes. "People have to go to the road-block and vouch for their visitors. I'm ashamed to say I had a letter earlier this week. The man enclosed a bill for all the extra mileage he, his wife and his maid would have to do to avoid the barricades."

Lesigny's motto is "Live Happy, Live Hidden". Many of its residents, having moved out from Paris with young families in the 1970s, are now retired. And, unlike many

French towns, it made no bid to host one of the tournament's 32 teams, so was somewhat taken aback to find itself chosen by the most famous one of all. The Brazilians found the place themselves and dealt directly with the hotel.

"We really didn't want all the fuss," said Michel Vial, the town hall spokesman. "All the cars, all the people, all the litter. It's still two weeks till kick-off and already we've never seen anything like it. But I suppose they liked the hotel, they liked the land around it and they liked the fact it's near the motorway and the airports. We have to make the best of it."

The village authorities are making an effort. They organised a buffet reception and ceremonial flag-raising to mark the squad's arrival last weekend, inviting officials from the Brazilian Football Confederation and the French Organising Committee.

Sadly the players were not available and afterwards someone stole all the Brazil flags. The lanes and the small, shaded square, where normally only the discreet clack of boules disturbs the silence, have been smothered up and at the entrance to the village a roundabout has been planted with greenery and yellow flowers to resemble the Brazilian flag. "The people wouldn't understand us spending a lot of money on anything big and fancy," said Vial.

Casiraghi joins forces with Vialli

Trevor Haylett and Ian Ross

CHelsea strengthened their foreign connection yesterday when the Italian striker Pierluigi Casiraghi completed a club record £5.4 million transfer from Lazio to the French defender Marcel Desailly, another target, is unlikely to join him.

Casiraghi, 29, seems certain to link up with the former Rangers winger Brian Laudrup in a new attacking line-up under Gianluca Vialli at Stamford Bridge which will cast doubt on the future of Mark Hughes and the Norwegian Tore Andre Flo. Yet the official line on Hughes was positive: "There will be no moves to push Mark out," said Chelsea's managing director Colin Hutchinson. "He has been a good servant of the club and still can be."

The new signing declared himself pleased to have the transfer signed and sealed. "There was interest from other clubs but nothing official," said Casiraghi. "This was the offer that pleased me the most."

It was important that Mr Vialli was here and that was one of the reasons I decided to come. I played with Vialli for one year in Juventus and it was a great forward line.

Like Gianfranco Zola, Chelsea's Cnp Winners' Cup match-winner, Casiraghi has been omitted from the Italian World Cup squad even though he has regularly featured in the national manager Cesare Maldini's plans this season. Known as the "little blon" he is a strong and hard working centre-forward.

Casiraghi has agreed a four-year contract with Vialli, even though it was the latter's arrival at Juventus which forced Casiraghi to leave Turin for Lazio in 1993. He has 44 caps and has scored 13 times for Italy.

The Newcastle manager Kenny Dalglish yesterday defended the sale of David Ginola as "out of my control" after the Prime Minister, a Magspies fan, criticised his decision to sell the French winger to Tottenham for £2 million. Tony Blair claimed that Ginola had never been sold.

"My hands were tied," said Dalglish. "David Ginola had already made up his mind. This was made plain to me when he failed to return for pre-season training. I couldn't do anything about the situation."

The former England international David Platt may begin his transformation from player to manager at Sheffield United. The First Division club are expected to name their new manager soon and the 31-year-old Arsenal midfielder is believed to be interested in the post.

Everton have been censured by the Football Association and ordered to pay the costs of the hearing into a pitch invasion after a supporter ran on at Goodison during the side's 4-1 defeat by Aston Villa on March 28.

Brighton's hopes of moving to the council-owned Withdean stadium have been delayed by residents opposed to the Third Division club's plan to upgrade the ground. Brighton hope to return to their home town next season after ground-sharing with Gillingham this season.

education

Every Tuesday in the

The Guardian

INTERNATIONAL

Cricket

News and Scores

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Countries update

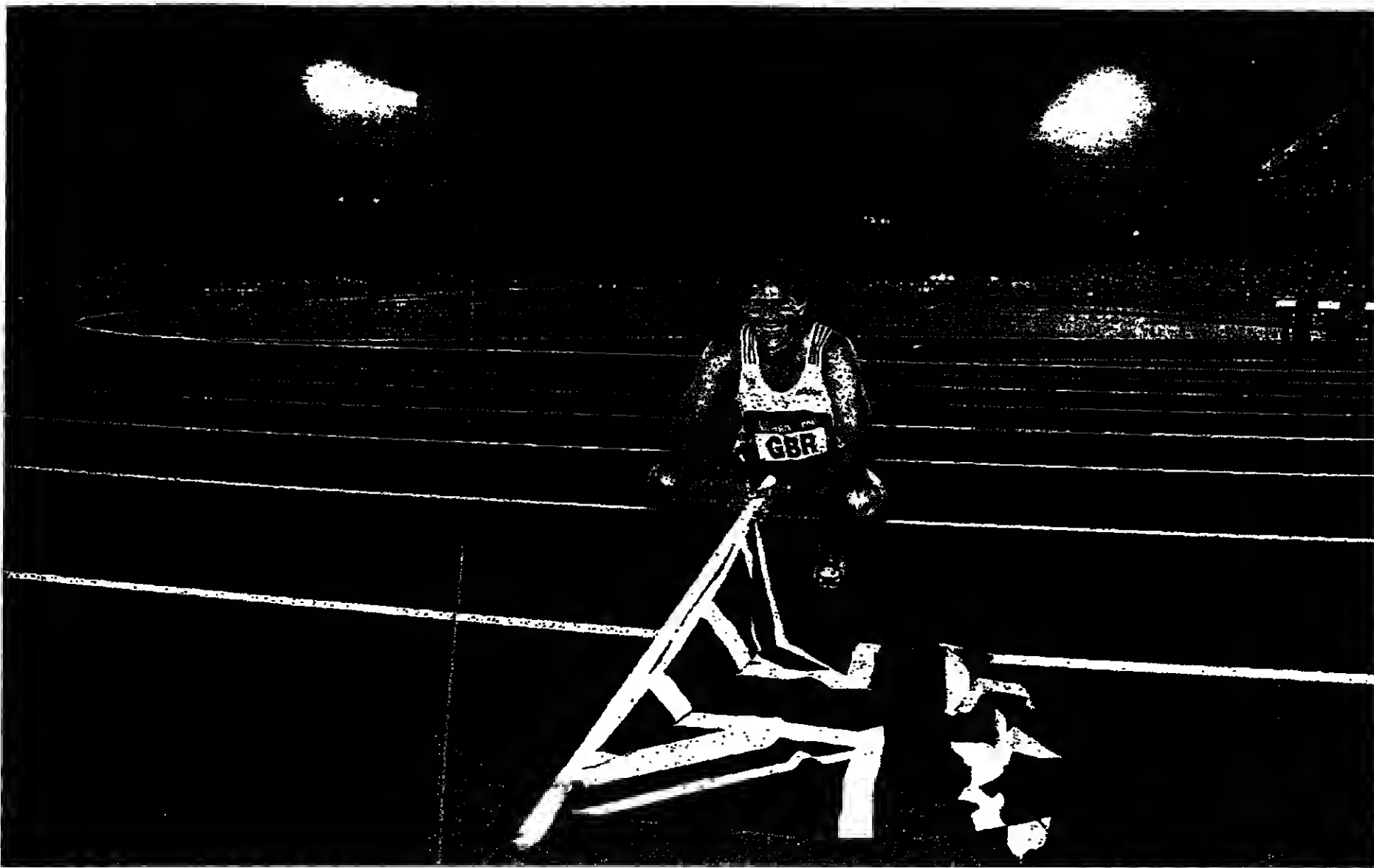
Country	Score
England	100
India	150
South Africa	120
West Indies	110
Zimbabwe	90
Sri Lanka	80
Pakistan	70
Australia	60
New Zealand	50
Bangladesh	40
Kenya	30
Uganda	20
Zambia	10
Malawi	5
Sierra Leone	0

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The Guardian

INTERACTIVE

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Flying the flag... Black, here in cheerful mood after the 4x400 metres relay at the Atlanta Olympics, has been a fine ambassador for British athletics

PHOTOGRAPH BY SIMON BRURY

Happy Black cruises towards final straight

Duncan Mackay on the high hopes of Britain's one-lap legend

THE autobiography is due in the bookshops next month. The benefit dinner at a plush London hotel has been arranged. Plans are well under way for a new career. All Roger Black needs to do before he hangs up his spikes in September is win the 400 metres at the European Championships for an unprecedented third time.

"If I can stand on top of that rostrum in Budapest in August knowing that for the guys behind me it was their chance to be European champion but that they couldn't beat the old bastard, I will walk away from the sport a happy man," says Black.

At 32, after five operations and two bouts of debilitating viral illness, Britain's pre-eminent one-lap runner of the past 12 years says: "It takes a lot of effort and focus to train properly every day and there are other things I want to do with my life. It takes a lot of commitment to start again every year and I don't want to do it again after 1998."

For Black, who opens his final season with a race in Seville tonight, it is important that he ends his career

on a high note after the disappointment of last summer. His omission from Britain's team for the World Championships, less than a year after winning the Olympic silver medal, still rankles with him.

"But I learnt a big lesson. In 1996 I didn't take any risks, and the fact is I'm not good enough to take risks and get away with it. I got a virus last year when I attended a week-long motivational seminar and got no sleep, and it was no way to prepare for a season. I paid the price. If I'm not 100 per cent focused I will not make the British team."

Half a dozen men are in contention for the three individual places in Seville, though Duane Ladejo is notable by his absence. It was Ladejo, now concentrating on the decathlon, who broke Black's heart in Helsinki four years ago by ending his attempt on three consecutive European titles by beating him into second place.

"Mark Richardson, Iwan Thomas and Jamie Baulch will be hard to beat this year. No doubt about it, and I will have to be on top of my form to make the team," admits Black. "And they may get bet-

ter, which will make them even harder to beat."

Of the three, Black believes Richardson is the greatest threat — a point borne out in Cottbus, Germany, on Wednesday when the Windsor runner opened his season with a time of 45.17sec.

Richardson approached Black in 1996 and asked if they could train together. Black agreed and they recently returned from three months in California. Richardson admits: "He's given me so much advice and encouragement that it will be a mixture of emotions if I beat him in Budapest. For years my genera-

tion has set its sights on Roger, but he will always have to live with the frustration of knowing that injury and illness robbed him of so many other opportunities.

Black nearly became a doctor. He enrolled in the medical programme at Southampton University but decided after one term to concentrate on athletics. There were times, however, when he spent as much time in hospital as he did on the track.

He missed the 1988 Olympics with a broken right foot, had an operation to his right hip in 1992, and in 1993 went down with glandular fever, which recurred in a milder form last year.

"Few athletes will have the

misfortune to experience the problems that Roger has had to live through," says Richardson. "In my experience very few athletes succeed in getting back to the top flight having suffered the way Roger has. He went through some very tough times in the depths of his long-term injury and illness nightmares."

The experiences have given Black a rich seam of tales to mine for his planned new career in motivational speaking. "Ironically," he says, "my problems have given me a good story to tell that seems to go down very well."

Black hopes to combine it with a role in television. He appeared regularly last autumn on BBC 2's, The Corporation's cable station beamed around the world, before leaving to train in the United States and he is clearly being groomed for a role similar to Gary Lineker's. "I can't compete at the Olympics the next best thing is to get the top seat in the house and be paid to present it," he says.

But for the next four months, running will occupy Black's mind. "It's a long time since I ran a good 400 metres, probably just after the Olympics two years ago. Hopefully this season it will be as easy as it used to be."



Something to smile about... Black's message is straight to the point as he waves to his legion of loyal supporters

He will always have to live with the frustration of knowing that illness robbed him of so many other opportunities

Sport in brief

Tennis

Wild card for Agassi

Andre Agassi, the former Wimbledon champion, is expected to accept the offer of a wild card for the Stella Artois tournament at Queen's Club in London from June 8-14 with his fellow American Pete Sampras, the world No. 1 and reigning All England champion.

Both Sampras and Agassi, who would be making his first appearance at Queen's, made early exits from the French Open in Paris this week and are keen to use the event as practice for Wimbledon. "Agassi has asked us if there is a wild card available and we have said 'Yes, if you want one,'" said a tournament spokesman.

Ice Hockey

Bees' Bernard buzzes off

Bracknell Bees have lost the services of their netminder Mark Bernard, who had been expected to return for a third season with the Berkshire Superleague club, writes Vic Batchelder.

Dave Whistle, the Bees' new coach, said: "We are sorry to see Bernie go but he has decided it is time for him to move on. We understand he has taken a job as player and assistant coach with a team in the United States." Whistle's defenceman Rob Stewart and Dutch international forward Chris Brant have signed new contracts.

Another player on the move is the former Great Britain defenceman Graham Waghorn who, after eight seasons with the Superleague's Nottingham Panthers, has stepped down a level to join Peterborough Pirates in the British National League.

Two goals by Peter Bondra, including the winner 10 minutes into sudden-death overtime, led the Washington Capitals to a 4-3 win in Buffalo over the Sabres in game three of the Stanley Cup semi-final series. Capitals go into tonight's fourth game, also in Buffalo, leading the series 2-1.

Football

New deal for Five Live

BBC Radio Five Live has secured a two-year extension to its exclusive broadcasting rights of the Premier League. The station's current deal was due to expire next year and the new agreement, for an undisclosed amount, lasts until the summer of 2001.

Boxing

Council steps into row

The Scottish Sports Council will set up an independent commission to ease concerns about the future of amateur boxing north of the border. The Council has intervened because of differences between the Scottish Amateur Boxing Association and the recently formed Scottish Amateur Boxing Federation.

Graeme Simmers, chairman of the council, said: "The existence of two governing bodies, and the hostile relationship between them, is clearly not a healthy situation. It seems unlikely that progress will be made without direct intervention."

Golf

Love bounces back

Davis Love, playing his first tournament since winning the MCI Classic five weeks ago, shot a 66 to take a share of the lead after the first round of the Memorial Tournament in Dublin, Ohio. Love, who has had back problems, Joey Sindona, Steve Pate and Trevor Dodds were one stroke ahead of seven players, including Ernie Els, the world No. 1, Vijay Singh, the defending champion, was seven strokes off the pace.

Rowing

Redgrave through to final

Britain's coxless four yesterday got off to a rocky start with the final of the European International Cup, but still reached the final by beating Germany at the Munich regatta, writes Christopher Dodd.

Tomorrow presents a bigger challenge against Romania, winners of the other heat in a time three seconds quicker.

Steve Redgrave, who sits in the No. 2 seat, said: "We were sloppy off the start and didn't really get into it until halfway."

Cycling

Noe takes over Giro lead

Michèle Bartoli, the 1997 World Cup champion, won the 13th stage of the Giro d'Italia yesterday in a three-man finish in Schio. His Asics team-mate Andrea Noe assumed the overall lead from Laurent Roux.

Bartoli edged out his fellow Italians Giuseppe Guerini and Paolo Bettini, with Noe three seconds back. The race favourite Alex Zülle tumbled twice going downhill.

The week's sport on TV

Today	C5
12.30pm Grandstand introduced by Sue Barker. 12.30 World Cup Football Focus. 1.15 Cricket Focus. 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	10.50pm Football Highlights of Brazil's World Cup warm-up against Athletic Bilbao
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	12.00pm Motor Racing Round seven of the FedEx Championship series from Milwaukee
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	12.25pm Live Baseball Atlanta Braves v Chicago Cubs
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	SKY SPORTS 4
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	1pm Live Golf Third Round of the Deutsche Bank Open from Hamburg
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	6.30pm Live Rugby League The Top League clash between St Helens and Leeds (kick-off 6.30pm)
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	8.30pm Cycling Highlights of the eighth and final stage of the Prutaz
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	SKY SPORTS 2
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	8pm Live American Football The NFL Europe clash between Frankfurt Galaxy and Scottish Claymores
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	SKY SPORTS 3
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	8pm Live Cricket Coverage of the AIA League match between Somerset and Warwickshire
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	6.00pm Live Golf Fourth and final round of the Memorial Tournament at Medinah Village in Ohio
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	10.00pm
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	11pm Live Motorcycling The 125cc, 250cc and 600cc French Grand Prix races
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	9pm Live Tennis The French Open from Roland Garros. Further coverage at 4pm. Highlights at 10.30pm
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	3.00pm Live Cycling The Tour of Italy, 15th stage
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	7.00pm Live Football Spain and Greece contest the final of the UEFA Under-21 championship (kick-off 7pm)
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	Monday 1
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	SKY SPORTS 1
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	2.55pm Top Gear Motorsport Mark James and Tiff Needell review the Argentinean Rally
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	SKY SPORTS 1
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	9pm Live Golf Fourth and final round of the Deutsche Bank Open from Hamburg
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	10.20pm Sky Sports Centre Latest news round-up
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	SKY SPORTS 2
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	6.30pm Racing Four races from Windsor and four races from Thack
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	10.00pm
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	SKY SPORTS 1
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	11pm Live Tennis The French Open from Roland Garros. Further coverage at 12.30pm and 4pm. Highlights at 10pm
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	3pm Live Cycling The Tour of Italy, 16th stage
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	1.00pm Boxing The NABU junior-lightweight clash between the Mexican Jorge Paez and Jay Angel Macias
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	Tuesday 2
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	C4
1.40pm Focus: 1.40 Motor Racing. 2.40 French Open Tennis	11.05pm Premier Football Steve Carr and Simon O'Brien continue their preview of the World Cup with a profile of England's group as hosts

THIS SPORTING LIFE

Harry Pearson

Michel Platini once noted sadly: "Other countries have fans, France has spectators." It is clear, however, that this rather jaundiced view is no longer applicable. As the Paris giants demonstrate, the French have embraced the World Cup with what Barry Davies, a Francophile so consumed that it would be no surprise to discover he is married to a croissant, would undoubtedly describe as "typical Gallic flair". In honour of the *Coupe du Monde* they

Ginolà has not actually been picked to play in the World Cup, of course (a fact we will undoubtedly be reminded of at regular intervals by John Motson in full "and-you-have-to-ask" mode), but this is of little consequence when set against the Spurs man's radiant pishinista. Ginolà tells Marie Claire that he does not wear deodorant and feels women should be attracted to sweat and bristles. I am not sure if this is true, but it is clearly a big morale boost for broom salesmen everywhere.

It is easy to see why an anthropologist might come to such a conclusion. As Bromberger says, the field is indeed littered with sexual imagery. The centre-circle is breast-like, the opposition centre-back a clear phallic symbol, and the over-zealous protection of the goalkeeper by the referee can only truly be ex-

Stinker . . . David Ginola,
whose pectorals fail to
disguise his peculiar
hygiene habits

Australian international has confirmed Warriors' interest

Andy Wilson

Steve Barrow, who joined Hull on loan from Wigan this week, will make his debut against his former teammates. Jason Temu returns

Castleford have major injury problems as they attempt to bounce back from last Friday's 52-10 mauling by Bradford at Salford. Jason Flowers, who had a personal nightmare as full-back, is out with an ankle injury and will be replaced by Richard Gay, and the props Dean Sampson and Mikee

In Australia the Newcastle Knights have announced that the veteran coach Warren Ryan will succeed Malcolm Reilly when the former Great Britain coach returns home at the end of the season.

"Losing to Warrington on Monday was an absolute bloody disaster," admits Michael Appleton, the former managing director of David

A sell-out for last month's visit of Bradford, and another virtually guaranteed against Leeds in a fortnight, suggest

"I go to Football League and FA meetings and they're just a nightmare. You sit there, just a small room, and you can't

For the doubters who suspect Lloyd's motives — whose fears were hardly assuaged when he threatened to walk away on the eve of the season and agreed to stay only on the basis that he owned the players and loaned them back to the club — Appleton displays an encouragingly long-term view. "We're not where we would want to be at the moment but, with a few more players, next season we could be," he said.

Stephen Bierley in Paris



Sagin... five-set thriller

Had Kuerten been able to convert four break-points in the second set, this second-round match might have swung sharply against the Moscowite, but Safin blasted his way out of trouble to square the match. He hits the ball with quite awesome power off both sides.

Kuerten really knows only one way to play, and that is to attack. But the velocity of his shots often appeared weak by comparison with those of the 6ft 4in Safin.

"I think Gustavo was nervous in the important moments of the match," said Safin, who won a small prize for

finalist here last year, moved closer to a potentially explosive quarter-final match against Venus Williams of the United States. Hingis defeated Slovakia's Karina Habšudová 6-3, 6-2 in her third-round match and Williams demolished Alexia Dechaume-Balleret of France 6-2, 6-1.

With the men's field having been blown apart in the first five days, the focus of attention will now be on the women, notably Hingis, the Williams sisters

ply their trade in a refined fashion. There is no harsh "Who wants two together?" Money is exchanged with no more fuss than buying half a kilo of cherries in a market.

Such is Roland Garros in spring, for the French Open is by a long kilometre the most civilised of the four Grand Slam tournaments.

The 16th arrondissement is the richest in Paris and whether you arrive at the tennis by strolling alone the Bois

taking the Metro, or whizzing (hopefully) around the périphérique, the *ambiance* of this part of the city settles quietly around your shoulders like a Chanel or an Yves St Laurent jacket.

The weather is important, and this first week *has* not been overly blessed with sunshine; even the chic can take on the sorry air of a drowned cat. But Roland Garros is rarely gloomy even when huge clouds settle above the red clay courts. And there is none of that enforced, jollity of the holiday camp, which often

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